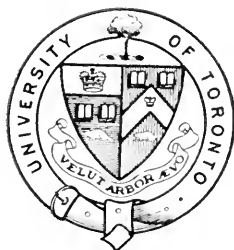


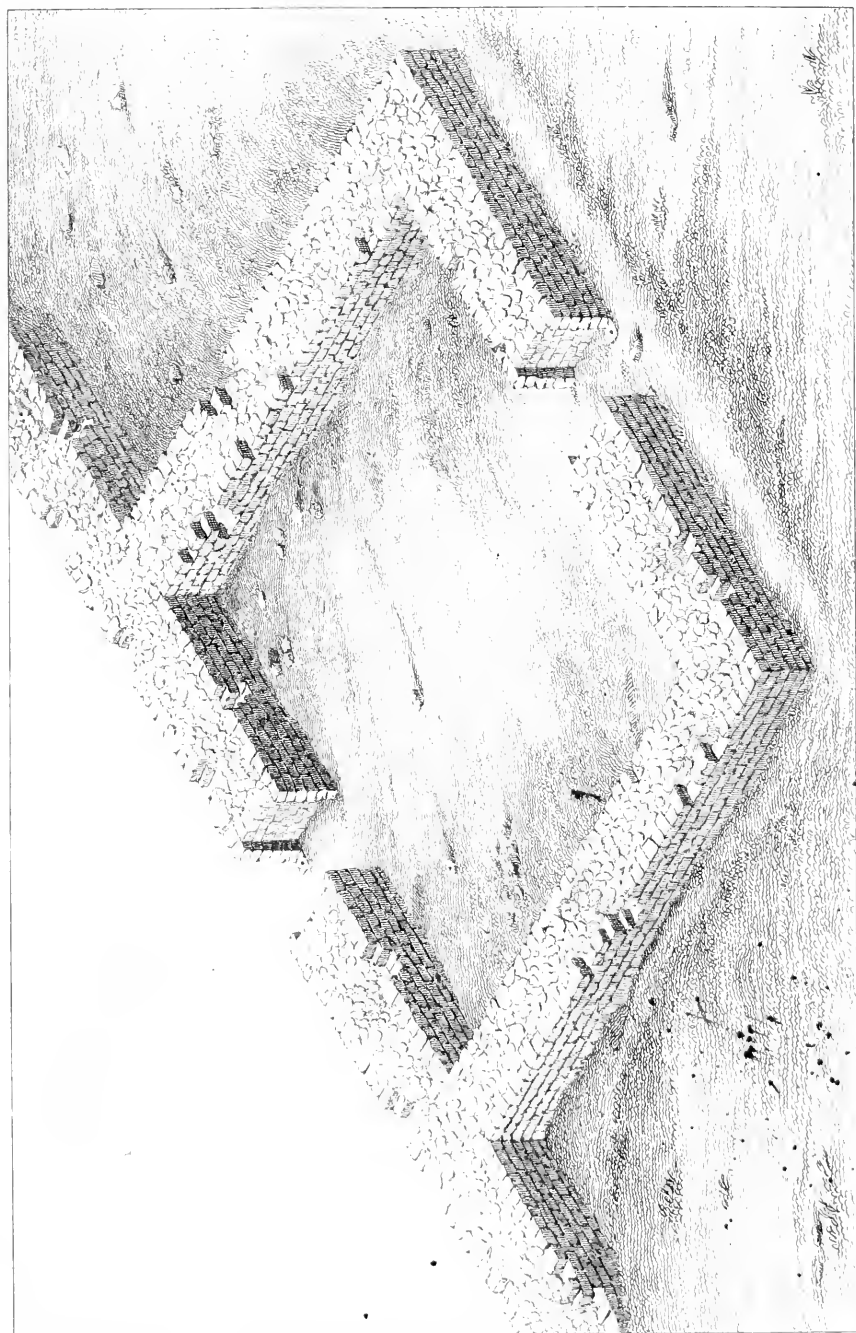


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A

HISTORY

OF THE

Picts or Romano-British Wall,

AND OF THE

Roman Stations and Vallum;

WITH

AN ACCOUNT OF THEIR PRESENT STATE,

TAKEN DURING A PILGRIMAGE ALONG THAT PART OF THE ISLAND, IN THE
MONTH OF JUNE, 1849.



WITH ENGRAVINGS.

[Abolished]

LONDON:

GEORGE BELL, 181, FLEET STREET.

NEWCASTLE UPON-TYNE: GEORGE BOUCHIER RICHARDSON

CARLISLE: CHARLES THURNAM; HUDSON SCOTT.

BRISTOL: THOMAS EDWARD HEATH.

1849.

LONDON :
GEORGE WOODFALL AND SON,
ANGEL COURT, SKINNER STREET.

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TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

GEORGE WILLIAM FREDERICK HOWARD,

EARL OF CARLISLE,

THIS

ACCOUNT OF THE PICTS WALL

AND THE ADJOINING

ROMAN STATIONS AND RAMPARTS,

IS WITH THE GREATEST RESPECT

INSCRIBED.

SOME Readers will, I fear, soon throw this little work aside, when they find in confusion certain points which recent writers have rendered plain and distinct. I have not separated the works of Agricola from those of Hadrian and Severus, for what is in a dark mist my imagination has not enabled me to clear. Nor have I, by indulgence in any theory, sought to give unity and agreement to these famous barriers. I have, however, endeavoured to give a true account of what we saw in an excursion of much interest; the measurements and observations were written down at the time, and little was left to unaided memory. But the fixed times for moving forwards, although proper and unavoidable, were attended with some disadvantages, and prevented the examination of many interesting points of inquiry.

London, August 21, 1849.



C O N T E N T S.

CHAPTER I.

History of the Roman Ramparts and Wall	Page 1
--	-----------

CHAPTER II.

Programme of arrangements for the "Pilgrimage"	13
I. Segedunum. Wallsend	15
II. Pons Ælii. Newcastle-upon-Tyne	16

CHAPTER III.

III. Condercum. Benwell Hill	18
IV. Vindobala. Rutchester	19
V. Hunnum. Halton Chesters	20
VI. Cilurnum. Walwick Chesters	22

CHAPTER IV.

VII. Procolitia. Carrawbrough	26
VIII. Borcovicum. Housesteads	27
IX. Vindolana. Chesterholme	30

CHAPTER V.

Mile Castle at Cawfields	34
X. Æsica. Great Chesters	35
XI. Magna. Caervorran	37

CHAPTER VI.

Gilsland	40
XII. Amboglanna. Burdoswald	41
XIII. Petriana. Walton Chester	44
Lanercost. Naworth Castle. Search for the "Written Rock on the Gelt"	45 47

CHAPTER VII.

Station	Page
XIV. Aballaba. Stanwicks	48
Carlisle. Luguwallum	49
XV. Congavata. Burgh	51
XVI. Axelodunum. Drumburgh	53
XVII. Gabrosentis. Bowness	55
Return to Newcastle	59
A Day with the Pilgrims along the Roman Wall	60

THE

Picts or Romano-British Wall.

CHAPTER I.

THE recent pilgrimage along the line of the Picts Wall having arrested some attention, and the accounts of the interesting tour which have appeared, having related more to the progress and personal consideration of the numerous party, I am not without hopes that a further account of the present state of the Roman Wall and fortified stations along the line, with an inquiry into their origin, may be acceptable at a time when much diversity of opinion prevails, and when modern travelling enables any one to view the striking works, and form an independent judgment for himself. Compared with the remains of these cities, the valla, wall, and fosses, nothing besides in Britain deserves the name of Roman. Whoever would consult the earliest writers that mention the Roman barrier erected across the island, must be prepared to find great paucity of information, much obscurity, and many instances of contradictory evidence, at a period, too, when the wall, if erected, and the earth works were complete. This confusion is, doubtless, principally owing to the absence of distinction between *vallum*, a barrier or wall of earth, and *murus*, a wall of stone, which practice, I may observe, is followed at the present day by the inhabitants adjoining the wall: in speaking of the vallum they say the *earth-walls*.

From the year A.D. 85, when Agricola was recalled from Britain by Domitian, history is silent respecting its affairs till A.D. 120, when Hadrian came over in person, and commenced or completed a line of earthworks across the island. From this period to the æra of the Saxon Invasion, we have very few notices respecting the long fortifications which the Romans erected in the island. The emperor Severus arrived in Britain about the year A.D. 206. Hero-

dian and Dion Cassius, who were contemporary with that emperor, wrote copiously on his reign. The former mentions that Severus in his march northwards, passed the rivers and earthworks (which he calls a *vast ditch*), and which formed the boundary of the empire. Only fragments of the works of Dion Cassius* remain: but Xiphilinus, who abridged his works in the 10th century, informs us “that the two most considerable bodies in the island are the Caledonians and the Meatæ. The latter dwell near the great wall† that separates the island into two parts: the Caledonians live beyond them. We are masters of little less than half the island.”

Spartian, who wrote about 80 years after the death of Severus, says, “that Severus fortified Britain with a murus drawn across the island, and ending on each side at the sea, which was the chief glory of his reign, and for which he received the title of Britannicus;” “which murus,” Camden observes, “as one may gather from what follows in Spartian, *appears to have been made in fashion of a mural hedge‡, of large stakes fixed deep in the ground, and fastened together with wattles.* And this it is we are now speaking of, for it runs along for 80 miles together; and upon it are the *Pons Ælia, Classis Ælia, Cohors Ælia, Ala Sabiniana*, which took their names from *Ælius Hadrianus*, and *Sabina* his wife.” The words of Spartian, alluded to by Camden, are, “when the murus *at the vallum* was completed, the emperor returned not as conqueror but as the founder of an eternal peace.” Spartian calls it murus, and hints that Severus built both a *murus* and *vallum* in these words, *post murum apud vallum in Britannia missum.* “But one may gather from Bede,” says Camden, “that this vallum was nothing else but a wall of turf; and it cannot with any truth be affirmed that Severus’s wall was of stone.”

The Scottish historian, who wrote the *Rota Temporum*, tells us “that Hadrian did first of all draw a wall of a prodigious bigness made of turfs (of that height that it lookt like a mountain, and with a deep ditch before it) from the mouth of the Tine to the river Eske, i. e., from the German to the Irish Ocean.” Hector Boethius also informs us “that Severus ordered the vallum of Hadrian to be restored, bulwarks of stone, and towers to be added;” and further

* Dion Cassius mentions that of thirty-two legions belonging to the empire, three were in Britain.

† Xiphilinus appears to be speaking here from his own knowledge in the 10th century.

‡ Muralis sepis.

on, says there was a tradition in the annals of Scotland "that the wall commenced by Hadrian was finished by Severus."

Aurelius Victor, who in the reign of Constantius brought down the history of the Roman emperors to A.D. 360, after referring to some great exploits, says that he (Severus) achieved greater things than these; for, after repulsing the enemy, he drew a wall across Britain from sea to sea; which account, the younger Victor in his epitome of that work, confirms.

Entropius in the 4th century, states "and that Severus might make the utmost provision for the security of the provinces he had obtained, he drew a wall for 35 miles together from sea to sea."

Orosius, who flourished in the 5th century, informs us that the emperor Severus was drawn into Britain by the defection of almost all his allies; and, having fought many severe battles, he determined to separate the part of the island which he had recovered, from the tribes that remained unsubdued, and, therefore, drew a deep foss and a very strong vallum, fortified at the top with numerous towers from sea to sea, over a space of 132 miles.

The account given by Cassiodorus, who belonged to the 6th century, agrees with Orosius in the length and object of the wall; and further, attributes it to the consulate of Aper and Maximus, A.D. 207.

"Ethelwerd, the most ancient writer we have," says Camden, "relates that Severus drew a ditch across the foresaid island, from sea to sea, and within it built a wall (murum) with towers and forts," which he afterwards calls *Fossa Severia*.

In the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle we find the following record, "A.D. 188. This year Severus succeeded to the empire, and went with an army into Britain, and subdued a great part of the island by battle; and then, for the protection of the Britons, he built a rampart of turf, and a broad wall thereon, from sea to sea. He reigned seventeen years, and then ended his days at York."

We learn from Camden that the learned Spaniard, Hieronymus Surita, relates that Hadrian's fence was carried on and completed with vast works by Septimus Severus, and had the name of Vallum given to it; and Guidus Pancirolus, according to the same authority, affirms that Severus only repaired Hadrian's wall, which was fallen. Camden also informs us that "Malmesbury calls it *the eminent and famous ditch*. In the place whereof a wall of stone was built about 200 years after."

The Venerable Bede finished his Ecclesiastical History, A.D. 731, in the monastery of Jarrow, near the eastern termination of the

great Wall. He writes with more certainty respecting Severus, but omits all mention of Hadrian. We shall give his words at length. "Having been victorious in all the grievous civil wars which happened in his time, he was drawn into Britain by the revolt of nearly all the confederate tribes; and, after many great and dangerous battles, he thought fit to divide that part of the island which he had recovered from the unconquered nations, not with a wall as some imagine, but with a rampart. For a *murus* or wall is made of stone, but a *vallum* or rampart, with which camps are fortified, is made of pales (*valli*) and turfs cut out of the earth, and raised above the ground all round like a wall; having in front of it the ditch whence the sods were taken, and strong stakes of wood fixed upon the top. Thus, Severus drew a great ditch and strong rampart fortified with several towers from sea to sea, and was afterwards taken sick, and died at York." Although a distinction is here made between *murus* and *vallum*, which preceding writers have not observed, yet it is expressed by *vallum* only, both in the Itinerary of Antonine* and the Notitia Imperii.

A few years after, it would appear that they began to neglect this wall; but, when the Emperor Alexander Severus (as we read in Lampridius) had given such lands as were taken from the enemy to the frontier garrison, and their officers (so that all was to be theirs, upon condition that their heirs too were brought up in the service of the empire, and no attempt was made to convert them to private uses,) imagining that they would be more diligent and courageous when they fought for their own†, then the Romans passed this rampart, and, fixing in the barbarians' country, built and manned garrisons; and, by degrees, carried the bounds of the empire as far as Bodotria (the Forth). *Camden's Brit.* p. 839.

When the affairs of the Roman Empire began sensibly to decline, and their forces in Britain were mostly drawn off to the defence of Gaul, they advised the Britons to build a wall across the two seas, between the Forth and the Clyde, which might secure them against the incursions of the enemy, without the aid of the Roman forces; they then returned home in triumph. But this wall being built of turf, and "*by an unskilful rabble*—these are the words of Gildas—*without any director, it stood them in no stead.*" Bede says,

* The Itinerary of Antonine, so far as it relates to Britain, is entitled "*Antonini Iter Britanniarum.*" It cannot date earlier than A.D. 328. The "*Notitia Imperii*" contains a list of the military and civil officers of the empire; its date is uncertain, but it cannot have been written very distant from the time when the Romans left Britain.

† Camden notices this in his views of the feudal tenure.

"The former enemies, when they perceived the Roman soldiery were gone, immediately coming by sea, broke into the borders, trampled and overran all places; and, like men mowing ripe corn, bore down all before them. Hereupon messengers were again sent to Rome, imploring aid lest their wretched country should be utterly extirpated; and the name of a Roman province, so long renowned among them, overthrown by the cruelties of barbarous foreigners, might become utterly contemptible. A legion is accordingly sent again; and, arriving unexpectedly in autumn, made great slaughter of the enemy, obliging all those that could escape to flee beyond the sea; whereas, before, they were wont yearly to carry off their booty without any opposition."

The Romans now retreated to the rampart of Severus, and along the *Linea Valli*, as the *Notitia* mentions, both sides of which were garrisoned with five *alæ*, or wings of horse, with their prefects; fifteen cohorts of foot, with their tribunes; one band (*numerus*); and one squadron (*cuneus*). Bede continues: "Then the Romans declared to the Britons, that they could not for the future undertake such troublesome expeditions for their sake; advising them rather to handle their weapons like men, and undertake themselves the charge of engaging their enemies who would not prove too powerful for them, unless they were deterred by cowardice; and, thinking it might be some help to the allies whom they were forced to abandon, they built a strong wall from sea to sea, in a straight line between the towns that had been built there for fear of the enemy, and not far from the trench of Severus. This famous wall, which is still to be seen, was built at the public and private expense, the Britons also lending their assistance. It is eight feet broad, and twelve feet high, in a straight line from east to west, as is still visible to beholders." I will here also give Gildas's words, from whom, according to Camden, Bede had his account. "The Romans, at the public and private expense, joining to themselves the assistance of the miserable inhabitants, built a wall, different from the former, and of the same structure as walls generally, from sea to sea, according to their usual manner of building, along by some cities that had been contrived there, by chance, from fear of their enemies."*

The preceding, I believe, are all the accounts of the Roman barriers, along the *Linea Valli*, which history has handed down to

* Gildas, St., surnamed also the Wise, was a British monk and preacher of the fifth century. He is the author of the earliest British history, "*Epistola de Excidio Britannia et Castigatio Ordinis Ecclesiastico*," 8vo, London, 1525. English translation, 12mo, 1652, 8vo, 1841. London.

us; and we now proceed to investigate some points upon which modern writers are by no means agreed.

The following tabular view contains, 1, the official list of the names of the stations; 2, of the cohort or ala garrisoned in each; 3, name of the cohort on inscriptions found in each station; 4, modern name, according to Mr. Hodgson*.

NOTITIA IMPERII. "Item per lineam Valli."		Name of Cohort on Inscriptions found in each Station.	Modern Name, as far as known.
Name of Station.	Name of Cohort or Ala.		
Segedunum	Cohors IV. Lergorum.	Cohors IV. Lingonum.	Wallsend.
Pons Ælii	Cohors Cornoviorum...	.....	Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
Condercum	Ala I. Astorum	Ala I. Asturum	Benwell.
Vindobala	Cohors I. Frixagi .....	.....	Rutchester.
Hunnum	Ala Saviniana	Ala Sabiniana	Halton Chesters.
Cilurnum	Ala II. Astorum	Ala II. Asturum	Walwick Chesters.
Procolitia	Cohors I. Batavorum..	Cohors I. Batavorum..	Carrowbrough.
Borcovicum	" Tungorum ..	" Tungorum ..	Housesteads.
Vindolana	Cohors IV. Gallorum.	Cohors IV. Gallorum.	Little Chesters.
Æsica	Cohors I. Astorum ..	Cohors II. Asturum..	Great Chesters.
Magna	Cohors II. Dalmatarum	Cohors I. Hamiorum..	Caerborran.
Amboglanna	Cohors I. Ælia Dacorum	" Ælia Dacorum	Burdoswald.
Petriana	Ala Petriana	Cohors II. Tungorum.	Walton Chesters.
Aballaba	Numerus Marorum Aureliarum.	.....	Stanwicks.
Congavata	Cohors II. Lergorum..	.....	Burgh on Sands.
Axelodunum	Cohors I. Hispanorum	.....	Drumburgh.
Gabrosentis	Cohors II. Thracum..	.....	Bowness.
Tunnocelum	Cohors I. Ælia Classica	.....	Tynemeuth.
Glannibanta	" Morinorum ..	Cohors II. Vardulorum	Lanchester.
Alio, or Alionis..	Cohors III. Nerviorum	Cohors III. Nerviorum	Whitley Castle.
Bremetenracum ..	Cuneus Armaturarum .	Cohors II. Vardulorum at Old Penrith.	Brampton, or Old Penrith.
Olenacum	Ala I. Herculea	Ala Augusta	Old Carlisle.
Virosidum	Cohors VI. Nerviorum	Cohors I. Hispanorum	Ellenborough.

The first thing which strikes a spectator of these Roman stations or cities, stretching across the island from the Solway Firth to the North Sea, is their number, and the magnitude of the remains of many, after a lapse of fifteen centuries. They were populous and strongly fortified towns, contrasting strangely with the present population along three-fourths of the line, were garrisoned by the strong detachments of Roman soldiery, and placed in support of each other, with all the skill of Roman warfare.

* Gordon, in his *Itinerary*, above a century since, was the first to attempt to fix the sites of the Notitia stations on correct principles. Where a station produced inscriptions by the same cohort as the Notitia mentions, he concluded that the station was rightly named. Horsley added new proofs to those of Gordon, and out of the twelve stations from Segedunum to Amboglanna, eight have yielded up inscriptions of this kind.—*Hodgson's Northumberland*, Vol. iii. Pt. 2. p. 168.

Taking the distance from Wallsend to Maryport at 91 miles (per line of railway) and the stations, (omitting Carlisle) fifteen in number, the average distance between the stations is six miles and a half. They continue in a straight or easy continuous line throughout, and, as the protection is afforded of the Solway, flanked by the stations along its border, the stations are placed farther apart, but would appear to have been of the first importance from the magnitude of their mounds and ruins, and the numerous inscribed stones and antiquities that have been preserved.

The station next to Carlisle, from which it is distant ten miles, to the south-west is Old Carlisle *, and Ellenborough is sixteen miles

* Concerning Old Carlisle, Camden, who visited it in 1599, thus writes: "Below this monastery the bay receives the Little Waver, increased by the Wiza, a small river, at the head whereof the melancholy ruins of an ancient city teach us that nothing in this world is out of the reach of fate. By the neighbouring inhabitants it is called Old Carlisle; but what its ancient name should be I know not, unless it was the *Castrum Exploratum*. The distance, in Antoninus (who gives us the most considerable places, but does not always go to them by the shortest cut), both from *Bulgium* and *Luguwallum*, answers very well. For spying of an enemy, you could not have a more convenient place, for 'tis seated upon a high hill (read *eminence*), which commands a free prospect all round the country. However, 'tis very certain that the *Ala*, or *Wing* (upon the account of its valour named *Augusta* and *Augusta Gordiana*), quartered here in the time of *Gordiana*; as appear from those inscriptions I saw in the neighbourhood." Horsley remarks "its ruins are very grand and conspicuous. It stands upon a military way, very large and visible, leading directly to Carlisle and the Wall." This road passed from Carlisle through Old Carlisle to Ellenborough. Part of it was taken up east of Old Carlisle about twenty years ago; and westward it pursued its course south the present turnpike road, nearly to Waver Bridge, then along the high grounds behind Waver Bank farm, north of Priestcroft Colliery, where, as it crosses the road to Crookdake, it may be still seen, then over Leesrigg Pasture and Oughterside Moor, where, I have been informed, traces of it are visible.

A few days after we had completed the tour along the wall, I visited Old Carlisle. The ramparts of this station are very bold and high, but the military ways near the station have disappeared. At the Dial Inn close by is a fine altar found in 1845, in Mr. Stead's field adjoining the station, and bearing the following inscription:—

DEAE BEL
LONÆ. RVFI
NVS, PRAE
EQ. ALÆ AVG
ET. LAINIA
NVS FIL.

"To the goddess Bellona, Rufinus, prefect of the Augustan cavalry, and his son Lainianus."

The altar is 3 feet 2 inches high, 1 foot 5 inches broad, and 5 inches in thickness.

farther, within two miles of the sea. I must leave it to others to explain why six Roman stations, Amboglanna, Petriana, Aballaba, Luguwallum, Olenacum, Virosidum, if unconnected as a line of defence from Tynemouth to Maryport, should be situated in the same straight course. They were connected by a military paved road with the rest of the stations to the eastern sea at Tynemouth, and tied by another paved way, which ran from Ellenborough along the shore of the Solway to Bowness. (*Camden*, p. 830.)

A consideration of the tabular view from the *Notitia* of the stations *per lineam Valli*, would lead us to believe that the whole network of Roman towns and forts from the North to the Irish Sea, along the *line* of Hadrian and Severus's Vallum, including those from the bend at Carlisle to guard the fords of the Eden and Solway, is here meant; and that the stone or Picts Wall at the æras of Ptolemy, Antoninus, and, possibly, of the *Notitia Imperii*, had not been constructed. This *mur*us or stone wall, in Cumberland, at least, was always called the Picts Wall. Leland, who wrote in 1539, mentions it by no other name, and in all ancient maps, and probably modern ones, if railways have not erased it, it is invariably written THE PICTS WALL. On the other hand, the Vallum of Severus or the earth ramparts are by the inhabitants along its border called *earth-walls*, and were in all probability coeval with the stations, which, according to the principles of fortification, ancient and modern, would be redoubts, or forts, in front of the line. In the early period of these fortifications, with the Scots and Picts behind them, and a fruitful country before, such a defence would be necessary. A ditch twenty feet broad and from eight to ten feet deep, on the edge of which a vallum raised, with the sods and soil dug from it, to the height of five or six feet, would be effectual in preventing the enemy from conveying cattle and plunder across the barrier*.

And Camden mentions, "some will needs maintain that the ditch, though not the wall, reached as far as Tinmouth, which they assert was called *Pen-bal-crag*; that is, the *Head of the rampier in the Rock*."—p. 858. That such was the object of these earthworks all tradition maintains. During our pilgrimage along the wall, on stopping at one place to examine the vallum and fosse, our numbers attracted an old man out of a cottage who said "he had been told by his grandfather

* Some portions of this fosse and vallum are so perfect, even at the present time, that, if cattle could be forced over the vallum into the trench, they might run along it, but would be got out with difficulty.

that these earth-walls were made to prevent the cattle being carried away." On further inquiry, he added, "he had no doubt his father or grandfather had told him." The fortified stations adjoining would be secure from any hostile attacks of the small bands of the enemy, and while these were garrisoned by Roman soldiers the vallum and fosse along the intervals would enable the adjoining Britons to sleep in security with their cattle and flocks around their dwellings. It is indeed probable, that at an early period, or in the time of Hadrian, the stations would be only rising or as advanced posts, and have need of a trench to guard the passes, which may account for the silence of Ptolemy the geographer who wrote in the reigns of Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius, with respect to the stations mentioned in the *Notitia*, although he notices many places both in South and North Britain, and also in Ireland. We also know that a stone was found at Hunnum*, and is now in the possession of the Duke of Northumberland, which affords undeniable evidence that Antoninus Pius repaired Hadrian's Vallum and the stations *per lineam valli*. (Hodgson's *History of Northumberland*, Vol. iii. Part 2. p. 284.)

Bede expressly states that the Picts Wall was erected by the advice, direction, and assistance of the Romans when they were under the necessity of abandoning the Britons their allies. It appears that in the urgent requirement of Roman soldiers to defend Gaul, the Britons had before been wholly, or in a great degree, left unprotected, and were attacked and overrun by their old northern enemies. After their signal repulse and slaughter by the Romans, these retired to the Wall of Severus. The enemy probably satisfied with the lowlands which they had, by the withdrawal of the Romans, thus recovered, would remain quiet, and in this interval, with due deference, we may fix the period for the building of the Picts Wall. A blank in British Roman history occurs when as we read in the *Saxon Chronicle*, "A. 418. This year the Romans collected all the treasures that were in Britain, and some they hid in the earth, so that no one since has been able to find them; and some they car-

* That the 20th legion was employed, in the time of Hadrian, in works at Moresby, on the coast south of Ellenborough, we have the authority of an inscription, discovered in 1822; and here Acilianus, prefect of the first cohort of *Delmatae*, left three inscriptions, one of which is on a tablet, in bold letters, like those in the time of Hadrian, and for the safety of an emperor of the Antonine family—probably, I think, of Antoninus Pius himself, the successor of Hadrian.—Page 239.

ried with them into Gaul." From which we may infer that the wall was built between the years A.D. 409—418*.

Under the skill and direction of the Roman legion which had with great slaughter driven off their enemies, the harassed Britons, understanding they were soon to be left to themselves, would joyfully give their aid in the execution of a work to wall those cruel enemies out, whom fatal experience had convinced them they could not resist, or otherwise confine at home. This will account for the magnitude of the work and its strength; the expense of which, according to modern engineering charges at 16s. per cubic yard, would amount to 1,021,269*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* It is a wall of great boldness; every stone of which appears to have been laid in fear. It is carried along the brink of high basaltic precipices many miles in extent, and the uniform ashlar facing-stones must have often been brought from a great distance. Without uniformity in construction, in some places as it mounts the heights, the courses are laid parallel to the surface of the ground, in other places, parallel to the horizon. Even on the brink of frightful depths where no Pict or Scot or other enemy, than an imaginary one, need have been feared, the same unvarying wall is carried in all its height and thickness; and at one part may yet be seen, after braving

“ A thousand years the battle and the breeze,”

from ten to twelve courses of facing-stones, seven to nine feet in height, and eight feet in thickness. And when in the gaps of the rock where the ground slopes down to the plain on the north, the fosse of the wall is sure to make its appearance. The numerous towers and bulwarks of stone which are recorded to have been placed by Severus on the so often mentioned Vallum would, in the erection in haste of such a wall, entirely disappear. The inscribed stones, besides centurial stones, which have been taken from the wall, are very trifling in number, and rather than militate, confirm the opinion of Gildas and Bede as to the origin of the wall. One is CIVITAS DVMNI, the City of the Hill; this stone Brand saw at Glenwelt; it is now at the Shaw's, Gilsland. Another is CIVITAS DVMNONI, which was brought from the Roman wall, a little

* A. 409. This year the Goths took the city of Rome by storm, and after this the Romans never ruled in Britain, and this was about 1110 years after it was built. Altogether they ruled in Britain about 470 years, since Caius Julius first sought the land.—*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.*

to the east of Thirlwall Castle, when great quantities of stone were brought from that ancient barrier to build cottages at Greenhead. "It seems to me," says Hodgson, "of the same kind of inscriptions as those called centurial stones, and was perhaps, like them, intended to show that the part of the wall in which it was placed was built by a body of persons called *Dumnonii*." Another stone, undoubtedly Roman, was found near Burgh, in *digging the foundations of the wall*; a proof merely that the stone was lettered *before the wall was built*, and probably, like many other stones in all parts of the wall, belonged originally to the stations.

In his elaborate History of Northumberland, Hodgson gives a long dissertation on the origin of the Roman barriers, the Roman wall and works. He says, "that Leland, who wrote in 1539, calls it the 'Picts Wall' simply, and did not trouble himself with the theories respecting its origin, which have arisen since his time." No one has studied these theories more than the historian of Northumberland, who has increased the number by one of his own. He admits that the station of Burdoswald is older than the wall*, but, buried deep in antiquity, he could imagine no hands but those of Hadrian's soldiers to have been employed in the erection of so un-Roman-like a defence. Even had the Scots and Picts been as numerous as the Scottish nation at the present day, instead of one-tenth, probably, of that number, the Roman legions would never have required such a wall and ditch, already protected with earthen ramparts and guarded by fortified cities, as redoubts, almost within sight of each other. The Roman soldiers were not accustomed to fear, and would have thought themselves safe from attack when protected by inaccessible precipices. The Britons, whom Roman protection for a long period had rendered unwarlike, and the withdrawal of which had just before exposed them to the "cruelties of their barbarous" enemies, would be apt to consider no natural defence, unaided by art, sufficiently secure.

From such an inspection of the more complete of the stations, Cilurnum, Borcovicus, Amboglanna, &c., as a somewhat hurried visit could afford, it would appear, where all is conjecture, that their demolition was sudden. The Roman warriors, with the thoughtless-

* His words are—"But the Thirlwall, or Roman wall, though it forms a straight line on its north side, with the rectilinear part of the north wall of the station, is not tied into that wall, but built of much larger courses of stones, and much more rudely than it, and thus evidently proves that it was of later construction."—*History of Northumberland*, Vol. iii. Pt. 2. p. 207.

ness of modern soldiers, might have commenced or aided in the destruction of their former homes, which, doubtless, they quitted unwillingly. The action of fire, still visible on the walls, may account for the early covering up and preservation of the plaster in their houses, whilst the treasure we are informed they hid, may be that which for fourteen centuries has seldom rendered a search in vain around their ruined chambers. When the rubbish is first cleared from the buildings the inside walls are often found coated with a fine plaster, but which speedily perishes on exposure to the air, like the plaster in any building open for a length of time to the weather. We also observed both at Housesteads and Cawfields; the intended temporary marks (as by the corner of a chisel), parallel to the edges of the square basement of a column, which had another square stone of smaller dimension set upon it (to coincide with these guiding marks), appear quite fresh. From which it has been conjectured, the basement stone must at a comparatively early period have been covered and protected from the weather: at Cawfields they formed the exposed massy basement stones of the north and south gateways of the Mile Castle.

A feeling of another kind is apt strongly to fix upon such as pass by their deserted habitations. On the richest soil of nature, or that industry could form, these ruins have stood, during fourteen centuries, more as melancholy memorials of the past, than temptation to attract the residence of man. Like the tenantless abodes of Edom and Syria, they are seldom visited except by wayfarers, whose curiosity tempts them to view the troublous life of former times, and the cities of the ancient dead, and exclaim with Volney, "Why are so many cities destroyed?"* Whether the introduction of Christianity into Britain, and the subsequent power and influence of the monastic and secular clergy over the people, might not have some effect in attaching terror to places defiled with altars set up to heathen idols, it is certain these Roman towns have been purposely shunned, and scarce a cottage has ventured to rear its head on the spot where false gods were worshipped.

* Volney's *Ruins of Empires*, chap. xi. p. 8.

CHAPTER II.

THE recent excursion along the line of the wall was projected by the Rev. J. Collingwood Bruce, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and was at once responded to by other antiquaries in that neighbourhood, as well as by gentlemen whose usual studies embraced objects of a more modern character. The following programme of the arrangements, dated May 24th, 1849, was circulated, and the party intending to join in the expedition were enrolled as "Pilgrims."

The Mayor of Newcastle (Captain Weatherly); the Rev. J. Collingwood Bruce (the leader of the expedition), and Mrs. Bruce; William Kell, Esq., town clerk of Gateshead, and Mrs. Kell; John Fenwick, Esq., of Newcastle; John Fenwick, Esq., of Campville, North Shields; George Rippon, Esq., of Waterville, North Shields; William Beamont, Esq., of Warrington; William John Beamont, Esq., of Trinity College, Cambridge; Richard Abbatt, Esq., of Stoke Newington, London, and Mrs. Abbatt; Rev. W. Greenwell, of Ovingham; Robert Walters, Esq., of Newcastle; Drs. Glover and Embleton; John Brunton Falconar, Esq.; John Brunton Falconar, Jun., Esq.; George Hardcastle, Esq., Sunderland; G. W. Mounsey, Esq., Castleton, near Carlisle; John Thompson, Esq.; George Bouchier Richardson, Esq.; Jonathan Vickers, Esq.; David Mackinlay, Esq., North Shields; James Raine, Esq., Durham; Gainsford Bruce, Esq.

Pilgrimage by the Roman Wall.

A party of ladies and gentlemen desirous of enjoying an antiquarian ramble in the summer of the present year, have resolved upon taking the course pursued by the far-famed Roman Wall.

PROGRAMME OF THE ARRANGEMENTS.

MONDAY, 25 JUNE, 1849.

Meet at SEGEDUNUM, Wallsend, on the arrival of the one o'clock train from Newcastle. After examining the station there, proceed

towards Byker, and trace the wall in its course to Newcastle. Dine at four o'clock in the Castle of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, which is within the ancient Roman Station of PONS ÆLI.

TUESDAY, 26 JUNE.

Leave Newcastle at eight o'clock (breakfasting previously), proceeding by the Westgate. View Hadrian's Vallum at Adrianople. CONDERCUM, Benwell. The Wall at East Denton. The Vallum and Wall opposite Denton Hall. Heddou-on-the-Wall. VINDOBALA, Rutchester. Harlow Hill, at about two o'clock, where lunch. Proceed at three o'clock. Welton Water-works. The Vallum at Carr-Hill. HUNNUM, Halton Chesters. Vallum at S. Oswald's. Wall, etc., at Brunton. Chollerford. CILURNUM, Chesters.

WEDNESDAY, 27 JUNE.

Start from Chollerford at eight o'clock. Walwick Chesters. Tower Tay. PROCOLITIA, Carrowbrough. Sewingshields. Busy Gap. BORCOVICUS, House-steads, "the Tadmor of Britain," where dine at about one o'clock. Start again at three. Mile Castle at Hotbank. Crag Lake. Turn off at the east end of the Lake to VINDOLANA, Chester Holme. Return to the Wall. Cawfields Mile Castle. Haltwhistle Burn, where turn down to Haltwhistle for the night.

THURSDAY, 28 JUNE.

Leaving Haltwhistle at eight o'clock, proceed to Haltwhistle Burn-head. ÆSICA, Great Chesters. King Arthur's Well. Walltown. MAGNA, Caervorran, where dine at about two o'clock. Leaving at four o'clock, Thirlwall Castle. Vallum at Wall End. Rose Hill. Gilsland, where rest for the night.

FRIDAY, 29 JUNE.

Leaving Gilsland at nine o'clock, proceed to Rose Hill. Cross the Poltross Burn. Cross the Irthing at Willowford. AMBOGLANNA, Burdoswald. Banks. Hare-hill. Turn down to Lanercost Priory. Naworth Castle, where dine at about two o'clock. Proceeding thence in the evening, by way of Casteads and Watch Cross, (or by railway from Milton,) to Carlisle, where rest for the night.

SATURDAY, 30 JUNE.

Meet at Stanwix Church at nine o'clock. Passage of the Eden. Carlisle Cathedral. Castle. Burgh, where dine at two o'clock.

King Edward's Moniment. Drumburg. Port Carlisle. Bowness, where rest.

MONDAY, 2 JULY.

Leave Bowness in time to take the mid-day train from Carlisle, and proceed to Haydon Bridge. After dinner visit Langley Castle, and returning to Haydon Bridge, rest for the night.

TUESDAY, 3 JULY.

Leave Haydon Bridge by second train for Corbridge. View the Station at CORSTOPTUM, Corbridge. Thence to Dilston Tower and Hall, the seat of the lamented Earl of Derwentwater, and return to Newcastle in the evening.

We now proceed to give some account of the present appearance of the Roman Stations, the Wall and Vallum.

First Station. SEGEDUNUM. WALLSEND.

On the arrival of the one o'clock train from Newcastle, the party met at Wallsend, and proceeded to the examination of the Station, accompanied by Messrs. Reay and Hetherington of that place, who were intimately acquainted with the Roman locality. This Station, containing about four acres, is situated on an eminence commanding, at a bend of the river, an extensive prospect in both directions. No traces of the buildings are left; but the south rampart, 135 yards in length, with portions of the adjoining east and west sides, is faintly perceptible. The south-east corner of the station had been tied to the bed of the river by a wall: the distance to high-water mark is 113 yards. The slope from the station southward is as beautiful as an Italian could have wished. The wall joined the west side: some cottages and a chapel occupy its site. Leaving on the left hand Carville House, through the out buildings of which the wall had passed, we come to Stotes houses, which occupy its site; the northern fosse of the wall is occupied as a series of ponds for farm purposes. One hundred yards west of Stotes houses, we come to the first Mile Castle; and, soon afterwards, crossing a valley where the ditch is wonderfully distinct, we come by a stile to a foot path upon the line of wall. Here the Mayor, Captain Weatherly, remembered the wall standing fifty years ago, three and four feet high for forty or fifty yards. Passing Davidson's farm at Old Walker, the wall ran through the middle of Waggon Way Houses, the fosse adjoining

the road, and, as in Hutton's time, was occupied by potato grounds. Passing Byker Hill, and, leaving the Shields road nearly at right angles, the wall crossed by the present Ouseburn Bridge into Newcastle; through the populous streets of which we were safely conducted by Messrs. Bruce and Richardson. Passing on the right the Windmill on the hill, the wall went through the site of the present gardens of the house, called the Red Barns, now wholly removed. Thence by and through the northern side of the Victoria Bazaar, through Melbourne Street, by the east side of the Keelmen's Hospital, by or through the Sally port (called rather improperly Sally port Gate*) thence down the steep hill whereon this gate is placed to the Stock Bridge, up or by Silver Street, Low Bridge, Dean Street, the north side of St. Nicholas Church†. Horsley says, "the wall passing through St. George's Porch, near the north-west corner of St. Nicholas Church, must have been the eastern wall of the station Pons Ælii." Then the wall ran in an oblique direction from corner to corner of Collingwood Street, through Rosemary Lane, the Vicarage Gardens, through the Gardens of Cumberland Row, on the northern side of Westgate Hill, and thence by the military road to Benwell.

Second Station. PONS ÆLII. NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

Within the Roman station of Pons Ælii is situated the Norman keep of the New Castle, which without doubt occupies the site of some Roman tower or building in the station. Here the party, who had been exposed to the rain for some time, sat down to a sumptuous dinner in the Great Hall, the walls of which are hung round with numerous banners, ancient arms, and armour. Here are preserved by the Antiquarian Society of Newcastle, who have charge of this building, the most complete collection of British Roman Antiquities in the kingdom. The walls of this building are first sixteen feet in thickness, and afterwards twelve feet, and doubtless many lettered antiquities are walled up; the King's and

* Thomasin Scott, an old woman sixty years of age, informed me, April 3, 1783, that several years ago some workmen, in building a coach-house for Alderman Sowerby, discovered plainly the foundations of the Roman wall, coming over the top of the hill, and bearing to the north side of the present sally-port gate.—*Brand's History of Newcastle.*

† Dr. Davil, who was Master of the St. Mary's Hospital in the time of Henry VIII., told Leland that St. Nicholas' Church standeth upon the Picts Wall.—*Hodgson's History of Northumberland.*

Queen's rooms are within the wall itself. Along the walls of the Library, which occupies another room, were placed numerous drawings and views of the wall, which, in addition to their superior execution, we afterwards found to be faithful representations. These views should be engraved. Running through the ancient station of Pons Ælii, is a more wonderful structure than any even the Romans could boast—the high level bridge and railway. Whilst we may lament the needless expenditure in constructing such a bridge, and carrying a trunk line of railway *over* Newcastle, instead of crossing the river higher up, and running into a line already made, it becomes us to speak very charitably of the ambition and avarice of the Romans, when suffering multitudes are now looking with anguish on their children, in the recollection of contented and happy hours.

“ No petty gains despised by pride ;
The modest wants of every day
The toil of every day supplied.”

From the absence of inscriptions belonging to this station, Brand was of opinion that they were all “ built up in the old keep of the Castle*, and that a rich treasure of this kind will some time or other be discovered lurking in its almost impregnable walls.” Another solution may be hazarded as being of the character of the stations that guard the Solway, among the towns which formed the Roman barrier between Ellenborough and Tynemouth.

* This castle was built by William Rufus during the lifetime of his father, William the Conqueror. *Hist. of Northumberland*, Vol. iii. Pt. 2. p. 174.

CHAPTER III.

At eight o'clock on the morning of the 26th, the party re-assembled at the Castle with their carpet bags and luggage, which were deposited under the seats of a commodious vehicle, drawn by two powerful horses, that soon obtained the names of Romulus and Remus; and, rivalling Roman horses, performed the march along the military ways, per lineam Valli, to the shore of the Solway.

Pursuing the military road towards Carlisle, we come to One Mile House, where the Vallum, appearing for the first time, is 100 yards on the left, and the ditch of the wall is distinct. The line of Wall is the military road we are on, to form which, in 1746, for the space of 20 miles, except where villages interfered, the Wall was levelled, the foundations of which are continually making their appearance.

Third Station. CONDERCUM. BENWELL HILL.

This station is about two miles from Newcastle; the ground where the buildings have been is merely uneven, but the southern rampart, with the appearance of a gateway in the middle, is very distinct. From a plan of the station, drawn in 1751 or 1752, and preserved, it is about 190 yards from north to south, and 130 yards from east to west; the line of wall crossed the station, in a direction inclining gently to the south, and dividing it unequally. In the northern portion are situated the farm house and buildings, erected with station stones. Four round towers appeared to have adorned the corners of the station. As the northern portion of the station was in tillage, the party spread over the field, and picked up quantities of Samian red pottery, one or two specimens exhibited elegant shapes, and on some were the makers' names.

At Ryton Rectory, near Wylam, is a fine altar found at this station, with an inscription of the following meaning,—“ Marcus Liburnius Fronto, a centurion of the second legion, in the due per-

formance of a vow set up this altar to Jupiter, the best, the greatest, the endurer-for-ages, and to the other divinities, for the health of the Emperor Cæsar Titus Ælius Hadrianus Antoninus Pius, and of the second legion called Augusta." This emperor reigned from A.D. 137 to A.D. 159.

A number of thriving beeches mark the west side of the station south of the road or wall.

At the foot of Benwell Hill, the road turns a few yards to the right, and we obtain a first sight of the Picts Wall—the fragment is 14 yards long, 9 ft. 8 in. thick, and shows two courses of facing stones, with a single stone of the third course. The apple tree growing upon it, mentioned by Hutton and others, is still there, but is much decayed. About five miles from Newcastle is Wallbottle; the stones of the Wall appear on the road, and the north ditch is distinct; the scenery is very fine.

Before arriving at Heddon-on-the-Wall, 7 miles from Newcastle, the road veers to the right to avoid the village, when 300 or 400 yards of the wall form a fence, from three to five courses of facing stones appearing, and the fosse of Hadrian's Vallum is cut through the solid rock.

Fourth Station. VINDOBALA. RUTCHESTER.

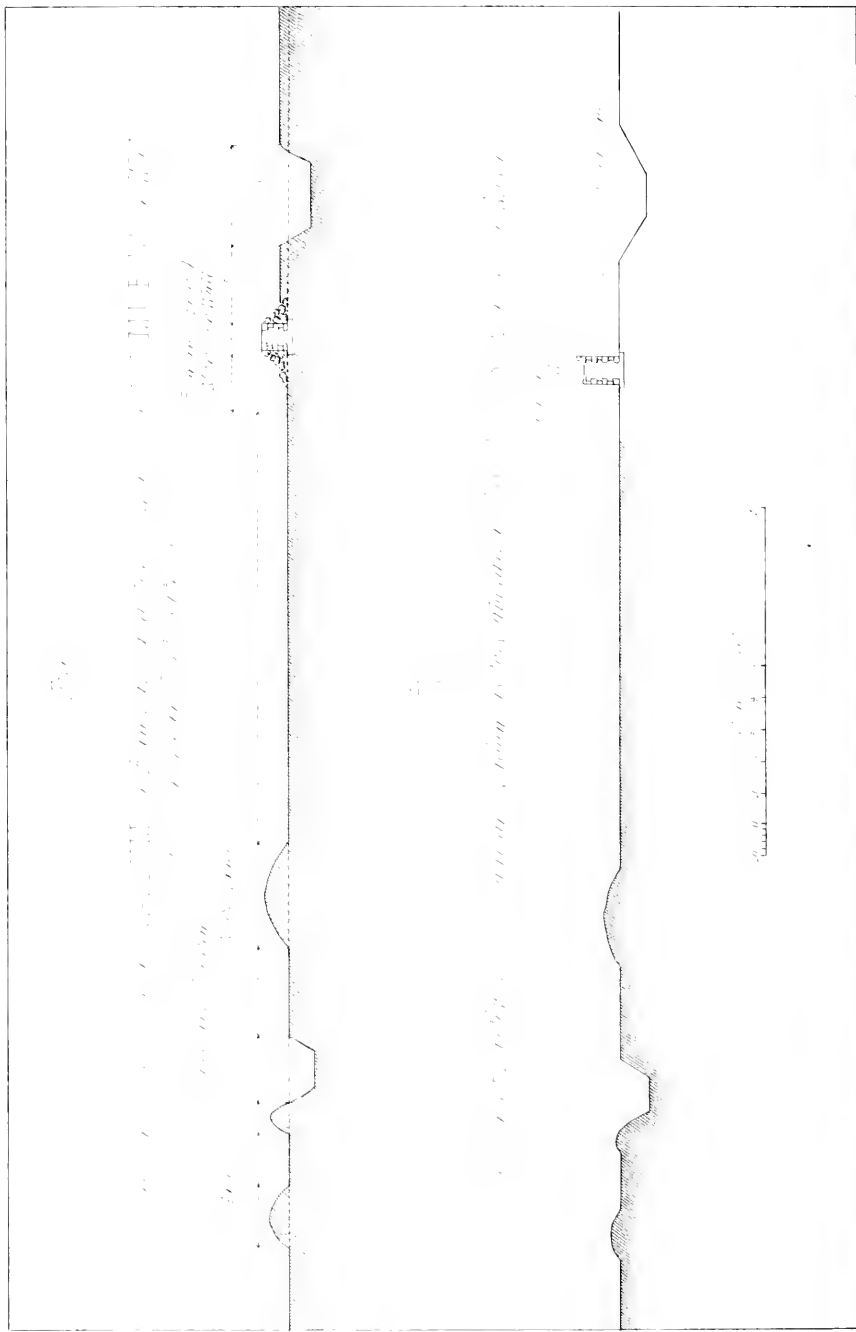
The dimensions of this station are nearly the same as the last, or 180 yards from north to south, and 135 yards from east to west. The line of wall, as at Condercum, has crossed the station from east to west: but the greater portion here lies to the north of the wall, the ramparts only are distinguishable. The adjoining farmhouse is supposed to have been a Peel-house where cattle were folded and protected. We were gratified with the sight of several Roman antiquities found here. Some, in a perfect state, were placed over the chimney-piece. A stone of a Roman figure, with a hatchet in his hand; another, with the word DEO, and a man holding a bull by the horns were also seen. Five altars were found here, which are described in the "*Archæologia Æliana*," Vol. IV. Over the stable door is the fragment of a stone, with the letters AVR ... RIV .. NIS.. We saw another with the inscription COH. VI APRILIS. In the field adjoining, we were shown a bath cut out of the rock 12 ft. 4½ in. long, 4 ft. 9 in. broad, and 1 ft. 10 in. deep, it had a hole at one corner: when discovered it was filled with rubbish and some bones, with a metallic instrument, of what nature I do not remember.

At Harlow Hill, ten miles and a half from Newcastle, the wall appears opposite the turnpike gate, and may be traced through the yards and farm buildings on the left of the road, which occupy the north fosse of the wall. We lunched at the inn here. We were invited to inspect some curiosities at an adjoining house, when the owner informed us that, on removing the wall in his ground, at a place north of the wall called Graveriggs, he found nearly together a great quantity of bones. On inquiring, he said the place had been called Graveriggs for centuries. We moved on at three o'clock, and soon came to Welton Waterworks, which consist of five reservoirs for supplying the town of Newcastle with water. The wall or road runs between the two most northern reservoirs. The vallum and fosse of Hadrian is generally very distinct all along, but at Carr Hill, we were first struck with the completeness of these earthworks.

Although a description of these ancient works must necessarily be dull, the journey itself, and the examination of them, proved highly interesting and instructive. The company, too, were sufficiently numerous to insure a constant variety in opinion and view, and interchange of sentiment. The leading theories as to the authors and origin of these different barriers, formed throughout the journey the prominent feature of discussion. The situation of the works at the place we are now arrived at gave an interest and novelty to the question. Carr Hill is a considerable eminence of no great extent, having on the north the Wall and its fosse, and on the south the vallum and earthworks complete. It was admitted that in the absence of the wall, an enemy, obtaining possession of this elevated ground, might command Hadrian's Vallum and fosse. The principles of fortification, both ancient and modern, remain the same, although the details are different. The close vicinity of the fortifications of Hunnum, and the larger question as to whether the earthen ramparts, protected by such outworks as the stations, were a defence against the Picts without the Wall, might possibly be overlooked. That they would impede plunderers, whose aim was to avoid Carr Hill and other eminences, was not a question with us.

Fifth Station. HUNNUM. HALTON CHESTERS.

A short distance from Carr Hill, and fifteen miles from Newcastle, is the Roman Station of Hunnum. Hadrian's Vallum adjoined the south rampart, and the wall passed through the station. Owing to



a valley, the western Wall of the station has a set-off, so that the northern portion is about one-third narrower than the southern portion. From the following inscription, seen by Camden in 1600, on a stone, dug up at this station, it is concluded this was Hunnum, as the "Liber Notitiarum" calls it.

NORICI . AN . XXX.
 . . ESSOIRVS MAGNVS
 FRATER EIVS
 DVPL . ALAE
 SABINIANAE

intimating that one Messorius Magnus, a soldier in the Sabinian wing, on double pay, erected this stone to his brother Noricus, who lived thirty years.

On the south the rampart and ditches are still perceptible. The farmer here had removed much of the great Wall, as the buildings testified all around; at which any reflecting person can hardly be surprised, who knows how difficult it is to interest others in views and studies, of whatever kind, to which they have no inclination. Here also pecuniary motives operated; the farmer told us "the stones were ready dressed, they had no trouble with them." Considerable quantities of Roman copper coin are still occasionally found in the northern portion of the station, now a field called Burnt Halfpenny Field; so plentifully, indeed, formerly that, as was remarked, "they were hard fash'd to pass them for a farthing."

In 1827, the Hunnum baths, 132 ft. in front, were discovered; of which a plan has been preserved, and may be seen in Hodgson's "History of Northumberland," Vol. iii. Pt. 2.

The ground of this station is flat; after ascending a long and gently inclined hill, we come to Portgate*, where the military road we are on is crossed by an old Roman road, called Watling Street, which has all the peculiarity of Roman roads, being quite straight for several miles. At the point of junction is Stagshaw Bank Bar. The breadth of the wall, as marked by the stones on the road, is 9 ft. 7 in.

On the left of the road on the summit of the hill, these earth-works are wonderfully perfect; the foundations only of the wall are seen on the road. Fig. 1, see Plate.

At St. Oswald's the road leaves the wall, and, on the left hand

* At Portgate, or Portyate, a few furlongs from Hunnum, the great military way, called Watling Street, crossed the barriers.—*Camden*.

in a field adjoining a portion of the Wall, 106 ft. long, has five courses of facing stones, and is 6 ft. 2 in. thick. Some large thorn trees have grown upon it, one of which, at the east end, had been recently blown down, and its "old fantastic roots" had destroyed and brought with them a portion of the wall. According to Hutton, two hundred and twenty-four yards of the wall stood here $7\frac{1}{2}$ ft. high, at the commencement of the present century; the destruction of which by the proprietor he so feelingly laments. In strict equity, however, it should be known that the owner left the highest portion standing. From its appearance, however, now, it is possible Hutton might have been misinformed as to the height of the part taken down. At High Brunton, in a gentleman's pleasure grounds, the wall is standing seven courses high for some distance, against which is placed an altar, found near St. Oswald's church. The wall is descending rapidly to the North Tyne.

It had been arranged, through an invitation from John Clayton, Esq., the town clerk of Newcastle (who is the largest owner of the Picts Wall) to the conductors of the expedition, that the Pilgrims should dine and lodge for the night at his seat at Chesters. On approaching the bridge at Chollerford, a great concourse had assembled, and we were conducted by Mr. Clayton to view the remains of the Roman bridge, and the station within his grounds. We had travelled upwards of twenty miles, and were somewhat behind our time. The interest excited by the examination of this station still further delayed the hour of refreshment. Our carpet bags having been previously taken into our respective rooms, at length, about nine o'clock, we sat down, in number about twenty, to an elegant dinner. The examination of the antiquities preserved in a house in the pleasure grounds being delayed till the morning.

Sixth Station. CILURNUM. WALWICK CHESTERS.

The cohort at this station had the important charge of guarding the Roman bridge over the north Tyne; the foundations of the three piers, from the lowness of the water, being plainly to be seen. Some had holes in them, which may have been luis holes; but, whether the Romans were acquainted with this plan of raising stones, which is disputed, they could scarcely be ignorant that a rod driven into a cylindrical hole would lift a stone of immense weight consistent with its resistance to the crushing force. The river here is about 80 yards wide. From the numerous remains of antiquity,

this station must have been of importance. Its dimensions are 190 yards by 133 yards, and some portions have lately been opened out by Mr. Clayton. A fine hypocaust was examined with great interest; and many of us, for the first time, comprehended the method which the Romans used in heating their baths and rooms. The floor was supported by pillars about 3 ft. high, built of square tiles, although some were formed of rude single stones, and within the spaces the flames, heated air and smoke, circulated, which air passages conveyed to other parts. About these dwellings were many passages, turned arches and recesses; to investigate their purposes would be as vain as to expect an ancient Roman to have accounted for contrivances in a modern building. An exposed arch to some passage was, when first opened to the air, coated with beautiful plaster, which is now completely destroyed. An anti-room to the bath measured 12 ft. by 6 ft., in which a fine stone image of a river god was found. 'This beautiful piece of ancient sculpture was the most perfect we saw in our excursion; it is placed in the hall of the mansion. We inspected a vault 10 ft. by 9 ft., and 6 ft. 4 in. in height, supposed to have been the *ærarium* or treasure house of the station. When first discovered, about the commencement of the present century, its door of wood, strongly sheathed with plates of iron, and the whole firmly riveted together with large square nails, was lying before it. It opened inwards. The floor was of thin freestone flags, between the joinings of which were found several counterfeit silver denarii, both of copper and iron, plated with silver.

Our limited time admitted of a very superficial examination of the curiosities in the antiquity house. The first object that attracted notice was a large stone slab, with a long inscription*, in which were *ASTVRVM. LEGVI. V.*; proving that the legion who were quartered here were Spaniards. A beautiful statue of a female in a tasteful Grecian dress, standing upon the back of a bull, the heads of which had not been found, next drew our attention. We observed a fine Corinthian capital, and two portions of its shaft; numerous hand mills, the marks on which are exactly similar to the dressed mill-stones of the moderns, with many unknown articles. A circular stone, one of our lively companions, on inquiry, said was a *potter's wheel*.

The north rampart of the station was opened out last winter;

* To be found in Hodgson's "Northumberland."

and, in the spring, 15 yards of the west wall, exposing four courses of stones, were laid bare. The wall is 5 ft. thick.

An interesting altar found at this station, but taken to Durham, bears the following translation :—

“Sacred to the gods of the shades below.”

“Fabius Honoratus, tribune of the first cohort of the Vangiones, and Aurelia Egliciane, erected this to their most lovely daughter.”

“Tender souls!” exclaims the feeling mind of Hodgson, “your last act of piety to a beloved daughter has not been forgotten: the altar that bears the memorial of your affection still exists, although it has been banished from the ashes that were committed to its care.”*

The same author observes that “the Astures in exchanging the sunny valleys of Spain for the banks of the tawny Tyne, might find the climate in their new situation worse; but a lovelier spot than Cilurnum all the Asturias could not give them.”

The prospect, diversified by rising hills, and the Tyne, is, indeed, charming; the beeches and hollies discover the nature of the dark deep soil, in the perfect structure of their branches and leaves. The beauty of nature, too, is aided by the skill and charms of art; and, probably, it would be difficult for a stranger to say, which was a greater ornament to this elegant mansion, the taste displayed by Miss Clayton in the house and pleasure grounds, or the learning and hospitality of her brother.

* Tombstones seem closely allied to the best and most endeared feelings of our nature; and had the hopes and consolations of Christianity been planted in the breasts of those pious parents, how would they have throbbed at the sight of such a memorial, and been cheered with the joyful thought of meeting their lovely daughter again!

CHAPTER IV.

At eight o'clock on the morning of the 27th, our numbers being increased from Hexham and the adjoining parts, we pursued our journey, and ascended to Walwick bank, where the view of the scenery on the North Tyne becomes very fine. Passing Walwick Hall, the seat of Thomas Butler, Esq., son-in-law to the late Henry Tulip, Esq., we find, in a plantation above the house, the wall lying all in heaps, and grown over with brushwood; the north ditch, as usual, is distinct, and more conspicuous up the lengths of two fields, ascending to Tower Tay. On the verge of another plantation, we saw the wall, 5 ft. 5 in. height, and seven courses of facing stones; in another place for 10 yards the wall was 5 ft. 9 in. high, with three courses. The earthworks on the left of the road soon after arrested our attention. The south, or outer, vallum measured 30 ft. over, and about 3 ft. high; the inner vallum, 9 ft., and nearly 2 ft. high: the distance between them was 14 ft. The fosse was 26 ft. across, and from 9 to 10 ft. deep. The prospect on all sides was most extensive. We now come to the corner of a field adjoining the road where a Mile Castle, 57 ft. by 54 ft., had stood. Climbing over the stone fence, we were astonished at the labour of forming the northern fosse of the wall through Whinstone Rock. One fragment of rock, among many others of rather less size, measured 10 ft. 3 in. long, 4 ft. 7 in. broad, and 3 ft. 6 in. in thickness; across a middle section, the diagonals were 5 ft. 3 in., and 6 ft. 6 in. The solid contents would be upwards of 130 cubic feet, and the weight more than eleven tons. Other blocks of scarcely less weight were lying in the trench that had never been raised. A short distance onwards, Hadrian's Valla and fosse, on Carrawbrough Hill, Tepper Moor, where it exists perhaps in its most complete and original state, excited our admiration and surprise. Plate, Fig 2.

Half a mile from this we arrive at

Seventh Station. PROCOLITIA. CARRAWBROUGH.

No dwellings are situated near this station, which is a square of 130 yards in the side. The eastern and southern ramparts are still marked and plain, and the line of wall goes along the north side. The suburbs have been to the south and the west, on which side is a spring of pure water. Some labourers were hacking up the foundations and mounds for stones for fence walls. A stone trough was lying on the ground which had been dug out of the ruins. The Pilgrims also set to work; and an altar, with the following inscription *HVITE RIBVS P. IBVS*; a hinge, a dagger, a coin, supposed of Tetricus, and some pieces of pottery, were the fruits of a visit to this station; these, with another altar, discovered in a dry wall near the well, were carried off, to be added to the already rich collection of antiquities at the Castle in Pons Ælii. The spring mentioned above is called by the neighbouring people, Bath Well, and was formerly a Roman bath, with a building over it. In the library of Durham Cathedral is preserved a fine altar found at this station. "To Fortune the first cohort of the Batavians is commanded by the Prefect Melaccinius Marcellus." The value of this altar, says Hodgson, consists in its corroborating the testimony of the *Notitia* that the station was the Procolitia of the Romans, garrisoned by the first cohort of the Batavians.

The north ditch of the Wall on this common is very bold and distinct. The road which has, with very trifling exceptions, occupied the line of the Wall for upwards of twenty miles, now begins to diverge to the left, and the Picts Wall forms the stone fence, of a long narrow inclosure, by the side of the road. On quitting which, the wall begins to mount the heights to Shewingshields, but is miserably broken. The valla and fosse which have been mostly visible on the left, pursue the low grounds, being naturally fortified and defended by the great Whin Rock for ten miles, and, with redoubts or forts added at the gaps, would be in complete defence. About half a mile from Shewingshields we come to a small plantation, which occupies the site of a Mile Castle, thirty yards by twenty-two; the north fosse of the wall is discontinued as the wall ascends. Shewingshields Castle is seen just below, in the great expanse of the northern waste, but we did not visit it. The bank here was studded with cowslip roots. At the farmhouse of Shewingshields considerable numbers were assembled, attracted probably by the novelty of the expedition; these increased all the way to House-

steads, at which place the party consisted of between two and three hundred persons. The view can be better felt than described; extensive moorland on every side, the Cheviot hills on the north, and the Northumberland lakes, naked and bare, in the west. Where we had no means of ascertaining, it is dangerous to conjecture, but the cliffs, along the highest ridges of which the wall is carried, cannot be less than 300 feet above the northern plain. About a mile from the point at which we quitted the road, we come to an opening in the wall called Busy Gap, where a break of the rocky mountain ridge occurs. We observed a triangular entrenchment just below on the north. Busy Gap is said to have been the place where the Moss Troopers broke through the wall in bodies for plunder. The facing stones of the wall are laid in courses parallel to the horizon, as it rises the hill. Camden mentions—"Busy-Gap, noted for robberies, where we heard there were forts, but durst not go and view them for fear of the Moss-Troopers."* Passing a Mile Castle which (my notes say) sloped to defend a point of the wall, the rear of the party reached the main body, encamped at Borcovicus †.

Eighth Station. BORCOVICUS. HOUSESTEADS.

Since the days of Dr. Stukeley, who was here in 1725, and bestowed the title of the 'Tadmor of Britain' upon Housesteads, this station must have been stripped of many of its remains of antiquity; still sufficient is left, which cannot easily be removed, to make it the most interesting station upon the Wall. It is, like all the other stations, rectangular, and measures 203 yards from east to west, and 117 yards from north to south. The northern half of the station is flat, on the basaltic rock, and commands on every side the most extensive prospect. On the north, stretched far and wide, appears the interminable forest of Lowes, now a desert, so called

* Hodgson, in a note, says—"Camden and his friend, Sir Robert Cotton, trusted their safety to the thieves of Redesdale; but the pass of Busy Gap was too notoriously infamous for strangers to come near. Even a century afterwards, Grindon Know was the nest of a clan of thieves, of the name of Armstrong, which was the terror of the country; and that Housesteads stood in a perilous spot, may be inferred from the fact that the present (late) proprietor's grandfather gave only £58 for it and the grounds about it, which a few years since let for £300 a year."—Vol. iii. Pt. 2. p. 185. It now belongs to Mr. Clayton, who informed us he experienced much competition at the sale, on account of the richness of the soil, but none from the Roman antiquities, from which it was concluded that antiquaries were generally poor.

† *Borcum*, an adjoining hill, and *vicus*, a village.

from the small locks in it. The other half is a sunny slope, which extends considerably. The walls or ramparts are very distinct, and in high ridges. And the lines of the streets and angles of the numerous buildings are plainly to be seen. Part of a stone pillar, as left standing by the Romans, measured at the base 30 inches square, afterwards 18 inches square, and was 44 inches in height. Another pillar, 3 feet high, was near it. We examined the gateways on the west, south, and east sides. That on the west consisted of two passage-ways with a solid pier between them measuring 4 feet across. The gateways measured 9 feet 3 inches, and 9 feet 6 inches respectively in the clear, and had been closed by folding gates, which moved on pivots two inches in diameter, let into the threshold; the holes of which were, by long use, rounded at the bottom, and coated still with the blue tinge of iron. The eastern gateway was also very distinct. The wheels of the carriages had worn the stone pavement placed at the entrance 4 or 5 inches deep. In the middle of the passage way a stone was fixed, which would have made it difficult for a one-horse carriage to have gone through; it was suggested by one of our companions, that all the carriages which passed might be drawn by two horses abreast. The distance between the wheels of the Roman carriages, as measured by the ruts in the stone pavement, was 4 feet 8 inches. One portion of the eastern gateway appears to have been walled up, the open one was 7 feet 6 inches in width. The sockets in the threshold were, as at the western gateway, quite rounded at the bottom, and showed the irregularities of the pivots by the circular ridges in the cylindrical surface.

The west half of the south gateway was 7 feet 2 inches wide, flagged with stones, which were much worn by the feet of passengers. In the middle was a stone about a foot high, for the leaves of the gates to shut against. The gates opened against recesses in the wall. The north gateway was not examined, but at the foot of the cliff, we were conducted to a bath or well, 4 feet by 3 feet 3 inches, built of large freestone facing stones; we thrust a stick along the facing stones through the rubbish to the depth of 4 feet. Two channels opposite to each other were cut at the ends; one led to a spring in the rock, 2 or 3 feet distant. Hodgson says that this well was used as a bath, when the late Mr. Matthew Magnay of Shewingshields occupied Housesteads.

A Roman *Pistrina*, or place for drying and grinding corn, in a good state of preservation, was examined. In front of the farm-

house is a Roman well, built in the usual Roman manner, with large facing stones of freestone; it was 3 or 4 feet in diameter; of the depth I have no note. Around the wall were Roman troughs, mill-stones, and other ancient stones.

At the foot of the valley in front, is Chapel Hill, near which was discovered in 1822 a Mithraic cave, 12 feet 8 inches, by 10 feet, in which were two altars; one of which ran thus: "Publius Proculinus, a centurion, in due performance of a vow to the god, the sun, the invincible Mithras, lord of ages,—their highnesses, Gallus and Volusinus being consuls."

The other: "To the god the sun, the unconquerable Mytras, lord of ages. Littorias Pacatianus, a consular beneficiary, for him and his, willingly and duly, according to a vow, erected this altar."

The above altars, with a zodiacal sculpture between them, stood with their backs towards the west wall in front of a recess, which was in the middle of the west wall, 7 feet long by 30 inches deep. The east wall of the cave had a doorway through it, and, to the level of the floor inside and outside, the wall was faced with hewn stone. The necessary requirement of a plentiful supply of water was provided.

Some years since, the flues of a furnace or hypocaust were discovered; they were choked up with soot, and an iron grating was placed at the mouth of one.

On the site of the building, or cave of Mithras, the lord of ages, Mr. Bruce delivered an address to the assembly, and compared the debasing worship of the Romans with the pure religion of our Holy Redeemer. In all their monuments they never mention death, or exhibit any hopes of the future, but merely state such a person lived so many years, months, and days; yet their ambition and love of empire could not exempt them from the feelings of humanity, which was so abundantly testified in their sepulchral stones. A father sometimes dedicates a stone "to his most beloved daughter;" a parent records that such a child "had not a single fault;" a husband raises a stone to an endeared wife, and informs us that "they lived without a single quarrel." The address concluded with excellent advice, suited to the feelings it was calculated to raise, which the multitude returned by three hearty cheers for the Queen.

Leaving Housesteads soon after three o'clock, where we had been nearly three hours, we continued the labour of noting down, and mounting stone walls. On the hill of Borcum, adjoining the station, the wall shows five, six, and seven courses of facing stones,

and is 7 feet high. Some of the party walked upon it for the space of a mile. After scaling the immense basaltic cliffs, along the highest ridges of which the wall keeps its unvarying course, and climbing over innumerable stone dykes, which abound in this district, we reached the Mile Castle at Hotbank; this is situated half way down the hill, and measures twenty yards by sixteen yards. After many of the party had partaken of the hospitality of Mr. Armstrong, the occupier of the farm here, they separated; far the greater portion turning off here and at Crag Lake, to visit Vindolana at Chesterholme, a Roman station between one and two miles to the south of the wall; whilst the rest continued the fatigue of the crags and the wall to Cawfields near Haltwhistle burn head.

Ninth Station. VINDOLANA. CHESTERHOLME.

The tour along the line of Roman stations, between Tynemouth and Ellenborough, ought to be made, accompanied by some gentlemen skilled in the military profession, before a just view can be obtained of the relative position of these stations, and the line of defence which they strengthened. It would be interesting to a military man to visit this point of the barrier, (Murus or Vallum,) and a station placed at such a distance from the works, but opposite the great gap at Crag Lake, and on the Roman military road which ran from Cilurnum to Magna.

This station is situated nearly a mile from Hadrian's Vallum, and more from the Basaltic ridge of the Wall; it was the station of the fourth cohort of the Gauls, and stands about 100 yards north of the Roman road, formerly called Carlisle Road; a portion, doubtless, of the military way which pursued its route by Old Carlisle to Ellenborough, on the Irish Sea.

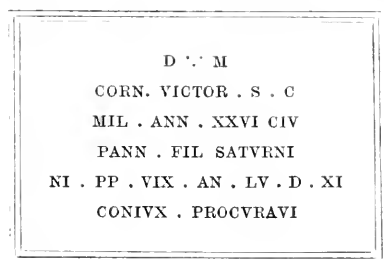
Hodgson states, that at this station, in 1832, many large broad-bedded stones had a long hole in their upper surface, by which they had been raised to the top of the wall, and that upon and about one of them belonging to a gateway three hundred small brass or rather bronze coins, mostly of Constantius and Magnentius, but a few of Constantine II. and Constans, were found, not in a heap or vessel, but dispersed among the soil, evidently after the cordon stones of the tower had fallen from its top, and very probably some seventy or eighty years before the supposed date of the Notitia, in A.D. 450, which authority garrisons the fourth cohort of the Gauls here at the time.

Vindolana, or Chesterholme, is 34 miles from the east end of the Wall, and has nine stations to the west, and eight to the east; it measures about 154 yards from north to south, and 88 yards from east to west. The ramparts are still visible quite round, and the ditch is distinct. The suburbs have been chiefly to the south-west and west side of the station. The antiquities are principally collected into the arcade, scattered about the garden, or built into the walls of a cottage or villa residence, erected about twenty years ago. The Pilgrims were received by Mrs. Routledge and family with the most polite and kind attention.

A fine altar found here, October 22nd, 1831, near the eastern gateway of the station, bears the following inscription:

“To Jupiter, the best and greatest, and to the rest of the immortal gods, and the genius of the pretorium Quintus Petronius, son of Quintus, of the Fabian family, surnamed Urbicus, prefect of the fourth cohort of the Gauls from Italy, and of a house of Brixia, performed a vow for himself and family.”

It does not fall within the scope of this little work to give the original of the inscriptions on the altars, many of which are not easily accessible, and practice is more essential than elegant Latin, to decipher many of them. As an example, I give the following of a stone found at this station in 1818, of a tablet form, with a rude moulding round it, and which had no doubt been inserted into the wall of the station. It is still very fresh and perfect.



Diis Manibus. Cornelius Victor, sibi constituit, miles annos viginti sex, civis Pannoniæ, filius Saturnini pientissimus, vixit annos quinquaginta quinque dies undecim: conjux procuravi.

To the gods of the shades below. Cornelius Victor ordered his ashes to be buried here. He was twenty-six years a soldier, a freeman of Pannonia, and the very pious son of Saturninus.

He lived fifty-five years and eleven days. I, his wife, saw his order executed.

Another stone was found in an adjoining field in 1810, raised to the memory of a person who lived twenty-four years, three months and eight days. "It marked, no doubt," says Hodgson, "the grave of a young foreigner, which filial affection or friendship placed there. It is melancholy to reflect how many similar monuments have been erected along the line of Roman forts to foreigners snatched away in the prime of life. And the earth in this long barrier line doubtless contained the ashes of thousands of warriors attached to the Roman army, whom the rigor of our northern winters and changeable climate consigned to premature graves."

The Roman mile stone is standing by the side of the military way, probably in the spot where it was placed by the soldiers of Hadrian or Severus.

Pursuing the Wall from the east end of Crag Lake, I was anxious to discover some inscribed stone which belonged to the Wall itself, independently of the stations, but my search was in vain. Except Centurial stones, of which the following is one, O VALERIANI, the century of the Company of the Valerianus, I believe the inscribed stones belonging to the Wall are none, or very few.

Crag Lake, which laves the base of the immense cliffs sustaining the Wall, is the most romantic of the Northumberland lakes, and well deserves a visit from the pleasure tourists at Gilsland. At the west end of the lake, the facing-stones of the wall, from 4 feet to 5 feet high, remain on both sides; the wall is 7 feet thick, and the courses are parallel to the horizon. A short distance farther it is 6 feet high. After passing a Mile Castle, situated most snugly in the mountain, I unexpectedly came upon two magnificent goats on the south side of the Wall. I turned my eye scarcely for a moment: they were nowhere to be seen. Astonished at such an apparition, I mounted the Wall, and after a short time I saw them with some others, several hundred yards below. I easily recognised them, for they were nearly double the ordinary size, but how they had descended to the foot of the immense cliffs, I am at a loss to know.

The Wall here mounts the steepest crags, but sometimes the foundations only are to be seen. When a gap in the rocky mountain ridge occurs, the Wall winds round so as to cross at the highest part of the pass, and immediately seeks again the most elevated

ridge. In all such places the northern fosse is distinct and plain. Before coming to Winch-hill Crag, I often found the facing-stones on the north side entirely gone, whilst on the south three or four courses, as originally laid, remain. The view from the summit of Winch-hill Crag is very extensive. Criffel and the Scotch coast, Tindal Fell, the Cheviot Hills, and North Tyne Head, being clearly visible. Rising from a valley, I observed three courses of the Wall parallel to the surface of the ground, this is observable in several places, but is contrary to the principles of modern masonry. Before coming to Shields on the Wall, I observed for a considerable distance both sides of the Wall faced with three or four original courses. At Cow-gap, a Mile Castle is occupied by a garden. Here I found a stone trough precisely similar to one which we saw among the ruins at Carrawbrough; but such a trough may be seen at any farm house.

At different points of this day's tour, we observed a set-off in the Wall from 6 to 8 inches. The centurial stones are supposed to have been placed in the Wall at the places where certain Companies under the direction of a centurion commenced their portion.

At Cawfields, where another gap of the mountain range occurs, a considerable number of persons had assembled in expectation of meeting with the main body of the Pilgrims: this also was the case at other points on the route from Crag Lake.

Crossing the Vallum, which is distant about 230 yards from the Wall, we arrived at the Freestone quarries in Haltwhistle burn, along which we proceeded to Haltwhistle, where we joined our companions, and passed the night.

CHAPTER V.

MILE CASTLE AT CAWFIELDS.

“ You tell me that at first a wall
Was built of turf alone ;
But soon one stood through all its length
A citadel of stone.

“ An ancient man mused o’er the plan,
And thus was heard to say :
‘ The more men lend and give and spend
In war, the more they may.’ ”

Old Humphrey.*

ON Thursday the 28th, the party returned to the Wall at Cawfields Mile Castle, which has lately been opened out by Mr. Clayton, and is the most perfect of any of the secondary castra on the line. A view of this Mile Castle faces the title page. The ground on which it is built slopes from the Wall, which forms its north side. It has two gateways opposite to each other, on the north and south sides. The sockets in the massy threshold, where pivots have worked in, are to be seen as perfect as when first made. The upper pivot of the gates worked in the lintel above. The gates have opened back into a recess on each side. The inside measure from east to west is 59 ft. 3 in., and from north to south, 48 ft. 6 in. The height of the walls, which are 8 ft. in thickness, like the Wall itself, are from 5 to 6 ft. high. The north gateway has been walled up on the inside, but the foundation sockets and recesses are similar to those on the south. Opposite to the north gateway the ground is precipitous ; but the road leading to it proceeds for some distance down a declivity along the northern side of the Wall, which com-

* “ When I am commander-in-chief,” continues this ancient pilgrim, “ all fortifications shall be built of turf, and all guns, great and small, shall be loaded with the same material. None but officers shall be allowed to go on a forlorn hope ; the place of the officers, too, shall be always in the front during an attack, and in the rear during a retreat. These, with one or two other trifling regulations, would materially improve the whole system of warfare very much for the better.”

pletely commands it. The lowest point of the gap is distant about 60 yards from the Mile Castle, and is defended as usual by the ditch. Soon after we leave this fine castella, we pass the mounds of a turret, where the Whinstone Rock is interrupted. The Wall, in crossing Haltwhistle burn, turns at a decided angle to join the high grounds. The foundation of the Wall upon which we walked, on approaching the station at Great Chesters, is 7 feet broad.

Tenth Station. ÆSICA. GREAT CHESTERS.

The ground of this station is four or five acres. On the corner of the Garth Wall stands a Roman altar, facing the south. The trenches and ramparts are bold, particularly on the west. A cave built of hewn stones, covered by an arch whose chord measured 6 ft. 9 in., and height or versed sine, 3 ft. 3 in., is supposed to have been the ærarium of the station, and was very entire: the breadth of the arch was 6 ft. 6 in. From the appearance of the walls of this cave other buildings probably adjoin. In digging at the north-west corner of the station, we came to the charred substances indicative of fire. The station occupies an elevated position. The vallum is seen indistinctly in the valley, being half a mile distant.

A quarter of a mile forward, we come to Cock Mount Hill, where the wall is 4 or 5 feet high: the earthworks are still seen pursuing the valley, while the Wall ascends the crags. At Allolea, we come to a Mile Castle, 64 ft. from north to south, and 53 ft. from east to west. On Allolea ground the wall is 6 and 7 ft. high, and shows on the north nine courses of facing stones; at another place ten courses appear, and the height, 6 ft. 4 in. Near this place the Wall had been reduced in thickness, by a set in of 4 in. for three successive courses. Here the view is most extensive, Crossfell in the south being conspicuous. At Mucklebank Crag, on the most elevated point, stands the truncated pyramid of stones and earth, left by the ordnance surveyors.

Another trigonometrical station was seen between Crag Lake and Crawfields.

On an elevated and romantic point of the ridge, commanding the niche at King Arthur's Well, stood another Mile Castle. The passage of the rugged cliffs was toilsome under a hot and broiling sun; but the fatigues of the day were overbalanced by the hospitality of the Northumbrian people. Around King Arthur's Well at Walltown, and the adjoining crags, were seated numerous parties of Pilgrims for

the day. After a welcome halt of about an hour, and an interesting lecture suggested by the associations of the place *, we once more commenced with the wall to ascend the rocks; and, passing a Mile Castle 48 yards by 60 yards, we mount Walltown Crag. Here we observed six courses parallel to the horizon as the Wall mounts the hill; at another place, at a similar inclination, several courses were laid parallel to the ground. The Wall on this crag is very fine on the north side for a considerable distance. On clearing away the fallen stones and rubbish from the bottom, we found ten and twelve courses of facing stones, and the Wall 8 ft. 9 in. high, and 9 ft. in thickness. On the north the Wall is defended by an insurmountable precipice; and a craggy valley on the mountain, with blocks of basalt scattered over its surface, protects the facing stones on the south. If an idea of the Picts Wall in all its strength is to be formed at this distant day, it must be visited on Walltown Crag. On reaching the termination of those breezy heights, on which the Wall had run for many a fatiguing mile, we beheld, far below us, all the little eminences near Caervorran, covered with a gay company. Everything, indeed, appeared combined to yield unmixed pleasure. The day was delightful, the mountain air fresh and exhilarating, and the young rejoiced in their holiday,—when there occurred one of those events which every now and then happen to mar our present joys, and cast a gloom over the brightest hours. A beautiful and favourite dog, belonging to a lady, who, with her husband, had joined us for the day, was killed by a falling stone, whilst waiting its turn to scale the last stone fence.

How sprightly was that little dog,
 When morning's tour began,
 Unhurt among those rifted rocks
 The happy creature ran.

Though danger frowned along the heights,
 Fate knew its time and power;
 Undreaded, in the quiet vale,
 Approach'd the fatal hour.

* The shelving rocks are covered with great abundance of chives, said to have been brought thither by the Romans. Camden, whom we have so often quoted, states, "There is a persuasion among most of the neighbourhood, handed down by tradition, that the Roman garrison, upon the frontiers, planted, in these parts, abundance of medicinal plants for their own use."—p. 840.

Eleventh Station. MAGNA. CAERVORRAN.

The ground within this station, as measured by Mr. Waller the surveyor of the military road through Cumberland, was four acres and a half. It lies within the Manor and Township of Haltwhistle, and 260 yards from the Picts Wall. Little of the station ruins remain. We saw the farm-servant who ploughed up the east boundary of the station. The old Roman causeway came in at the south. On the ground of the station in a field, we observed an ancient trough, 5 feet 7 inches in length, 7 inches deep, and 7 inches wide at the top. In the court yard and along the garden wall are innumerable Roman antiquities, as hand mills, inscribed stones, &c. An altar was observed to be built into the wall of the farm-house high up, near the eaves.

Leland, in his Itinerary, mentions "the great ruins of Caervorein the which be nere Thyrwall."* Camden describes this station in his journey eastward, as follows: "Beyond Thirlwall the Wall opens a passage for the mad river of Tippal; where on the descent of a hill, a little within the Wall, may be seen the draught of a square Roman fort, 140 paces in length: the very foundations of the houses, and tracks of the streets, being yet fairly discernible. The Moss-Troopers report that there lay a high street-way, paved with flint and other stones, over the tops of the mountains, from hence to Maiden Castle, on Stane-Moor. 'Tis certain it went directly to Kirbythor. This place is now called Caervorrain. Whatever its ancient name was, the Wall near it was built higher and firmer than elsewhere; for within two furlongs of it, on a pretty high hill, it exceeds 15 foot in height, and 9 in breadth, on both sides, ashler, tho' Bede says it was only 12 foot high." In reference to this statement of the height of the Wall, Bishop Gibson, in his additions to Camden, observes—"Bede's account of the Roman Wall (Eccl. Hist. l. 5. c. 10) is very likely, fair and true. For, in some places on the Wasts, where there has not been any extraordinary fortifications, several fragments come near that height, and none exceed it. His breadth also (at eight foot) is accurate enough: for wherever you measure it now, you always find it above seven." If the height of the Wall at this point was in 1600 as Camden asserts, it appears somewhat surprising that it should have decreased 6 feet in 200 years, and none in the succeeding 50 years, as we find from Hutton.

* A statue of Apollo, found at this station, was presented by the Rev. John Wallis, M.A., in 1776, to the Hon. Daines Barrington.—*Hutchinson's History of Cumberland*, Vol ii. p. 367, note.

After dinner and another excellent lecture from Mr. Bruce, to the great concourse assembled in the court-yard, we resumed our march to the west. Opposite the station the foundation or breadth of the Wall only appears, but the northern fosse is bold. The following dimensions, as it descends the hill to Thirlwall Castle, were taken by Mr. Hardcastle. Breadth at the top 41 feet 9 inches, at the bottom 14 feet length of each side, slope 16 feet. The Wall and Vallum leave Thirlwall Castle a little on the north.

The distance from Caervorran to the next station at Burdoswald is two miles and three quarters. In the middle of the interval, between the Whin-Crag barrier and the river Irthing, stands Thirlwall Castle, where tradition relates the Scots and Picts broke through the Wall. Fordun, the old Scotch historian, in his *Scoto-Chronicle*, relates that "The Scots having conquered the country on both sides of the Wall, began to settle themselves in it; and, summoning the boors (with their mattocks, pickaxes, rakes, forks, and shovels), caused wide poles and gaps to be made in it, through which they might readily pass and repass. From these gaps this indented part got its present name; for in the English tongue the place is now called Thirlwall*, which, rendered in Latin, is the same as *Murus perforatus*."—*Camden*, p. 848.

The interval from the great whin-barrier to the river Irthing is by nature the weakest part of Hadrian's line of defence. The importance attached to it was manifest in the construction of two strong stations placed within three miles for its protection—Caervorran, the tracks of whose streets were seen by Camden, and Burdoswald, whose present remains excite our surprise and admiration. In the erection of the Wall, this point was further strengthened by three Castella placed at equal intervals†.

At Haltwhistle, where the Tippal enters, the Tyne is a very considerable river, and increases all the way in its parallel course with the Vallum to Newcastle or Tynemouth. And the Vallum, as it proceeds westwards, follows the course of the Irthing and Eden to the Solway. The character of the Scots and Picts was allied more to plunder than purposes of conquest; their object, as stated by their own historian, was "readily to pass and repass." Never

* *Thirl* is a common acceptance in the north for an opening left in moor fences, for sheep to pass to and from the commons adjacent to the inclosed grounds.—*Hutchinson's History of Cumberland*, Vol. i. p. 64.

† The distance from Caervorran to Burdoswald, by the line of the Wall, is two miles and three quarters; in this space three castella are visible, at equal distances, each interval containing just six furlongs and a half.—*Ibid.*, p. 64.

was a line so defended to repress marauders, whose aggressive strength consisted not in numbers, but in devotion to themselves and their country. A strong vallum and fosse protected by two deep and difficult rivers, and, according to the principles of fortification defended, not by redoubts, but by strongly fortified towns, almost within sight of each other and garrisoned by Roman soldiers—surely, if, to this you add the immense Wall and ditch, the sarcasm of Dr. Johnson, mentioned in Boswell, referred to the ancient Picts*.

Thirlwall Castle is a fine ruin standing about 100 yards north of the Wall designed in latter times to protect it, as the stations defend Hadrian's Vallum. It belongs to the Earl of Carlisle. The walls are 8 feet thick, inclosing one floor, 45 feet by 21, and communicating with another $15\frac{1}{2}$ feet by 13 feet, each having beam-holes for four upper floors.

The company here was very numerous, and Mr. W. Beaumont addressed some excellent observations on the habits and practices of mediæval life, on the construction of these border castles, and strikingly pointed out the superiority of order and law in the minds of the people. Three hearty cheers, as usual, to the lecturer, concluded our stay, and formed the signal for moving forwards. The Newcastle and Carlisle Railway, within a short space twice crosses the Wall, within which interval some houses, as tradition relates, occupy the site of the first gap in the Wall. The Wall makes its appearance on its second approach to the railway, a short distance west of the station at Rose Hill. On approaching Gilsland, where we were to rest for the night, all the company, at this fashionable place, turned out to view the novel sight of Pilgrims along the Roman Wall.

* We may observe that, however the habits and customs of a people may alter, and practices become less convenient, yet deeper principles and circumstances affecting the national mind are subject to little change. Probably more English plunder has been conveyed up Annandale during the last three years, than by the ancient Picts and Scots in a quarter of a century. If their descendants will but maintain their position, *abdicationemque munerum vitent*, in a line of road which leads to the richest district of England, they may always set at defiance the Anglo Britons, whose character, as portrayed by St. Gildas and Bede, has undergone no alteration during thirteen centuries.

CHAPTER VI.

AFTER a night of refreshing sleep many of the Pilgrims arose early, on the fine morning of the twenty-ninth, to enjoy a delightful morning's walk along the sylvan shades of Gilsland, where the picturesque windings of the Irthing afford a constant succession of rocky glen and woody scenery. Nor was the far-famed well overlooked, or to taste of its healing waters forgotten. After breakfasting at one table, thirty-six in company, we entered our vehicle, to proceed to the Wall at Rose Hill, a distance of two miles, accompanied by many of the visitors of the hotel. We called at a thatched cottage which was once occupied by Meg Merrilies, when the mayor and others were greatly amused with the description and sight of the holes under the bed where her friends used to be concealed. Crossing the small stream of the Poltross, which divides the two northern counties, on the top of the bank we examined the site where formerly a Mile Castle stood. On constructing the railway, which buried the Wall and its fosse some 20 feet deep or more, a few yards of the Wall, showing four or five courses of facing stones, were opened out on the north side of the embankment. The Wall now forms field boundaries, and hedges grow upon it till it arrives at the Irthing. On passing Willowford, the faint traces of the third Mile Castle from Caervorran were pointed out. The fosse of the Wall is very distinct. Some oak trees are growing in it, and on its northern bank. On arriving at the river, considerable difficulty arose in the passage, still more in climbing the steep bank along which the Wall has mounted. By the assistance of large stones, which lay plentifully about, we formed stepping stones, which enabled the ladies to cross the water; but none of the party completely succeeded in ascending the precipitous bank by the course of the Wall. The attempt is very dangerous, and, as success accomplishes nothing, should never be tried by those whose life and existence are in any way useful; an accident might render the future one unavailing scene of regret and sorrow. At the summit, two barrows, a short distance on the north, were pointed out, and the faint traces of a

Mile Castle to guard the pass of the river. Considerable discussion here took place on the change in its course which the Irthing at this point has made in the lapse of centuries ; but the problem was left to be solved at a longer visit and of greater leisure.

Twelfth Station. AMBOGLANNA. BURDOSWALD.

We entered this important and very interesting Roman station at the north-west corner, where the Wall, as Hodgson remarks, although it makes a straight face with the northern side of the station Wall, is different from it, and is not tied into the station Wall at the point of juncture. If, as Gildas* says, "the Wall was erected along the line of the cities which had been built for fear of the enemy," they would doubtless adopt the mode which is witnessed here. The thickness of the Wall at 4 feet from the ground, is 7 feet 8 inches, and seven or eight courses appear on both sides. The thickness of the Wall of the station is uniformly 5 feet, like the station Walls at Cilurnum. The thickness of the Walls of the Mile Castle at Cawfields is the same as the Wall itself, both at that place and here, nearly 8 feet. The height of seven or eight courses of the Wall, where it joins the west Wall of the station, is upwards of 6 feet ; the height of fourteen courses of the station Wall at the same point is 7 feet 5 inches. The Wall and the stations are both uniform works, but are very dissimilar. From which we may infer the Roman Stations are a prior work to the Picts Wall and the Castella upon it.

The walls of this station are higher and more complete than those of any we have passed, or which are upon the whole line. The western gateway is 11 feet wide. With the assistance of the farm-servant, we found the foundation of the gateway and the recess similar to those at Housesteads. A Roman pistrina, similar to those of that station, is standing beside the southern Wall of the station here. Some buildings have been opened out near the eastern Wall, and the walls and foundations of others are doubtless concealed by the turf. Hadrian's Vallum forms the fosse of the south wall of the station. Its situation is high, on a considerable plain, which terminates abruptly in a steep descent to the river.

* The title of the old translation of Gildas is as follows :—"The epistle of Gildas, the most ancient British author : who flourished in the yeere of our Lord, 546. And who, by his great erudition, sanctitie, and wisdom, acquired the name of *Sapientis*. Faithfully translated out of the original Latine. London, 12mo., 1638."

The prospect is one of picturesque woodland scenery. The party found the base of a figure of Mercury or Esculapius, which they carried away.

Horsley says there are few stations upon the Wall to which so great a number of inscriptions belong as to this at Burdoswald; for to this place must be referred the twenty-five, which he gives in the "Britannia Romana." The inscriptions on eight of the altars commence with the words JOVI OPTIMO MAXIMO COHORTIS PRIME ÆLIÆ DACORUM. Without laying much dependence on the protection of Jupiter, the multitude of inscribed stones, and connecting circumstances, prove that the Roman soldier rested here in much learned or *lettered* leisure. A fortification standing upon five or six acres, and strongly garrisoned with veteran troops, would reduce the Scots and Picts to caution and prudence, and render the Wall, however needful afterwards, quite unnecessary at this period. Hodgson proves, from inscriptions found at Olenacum, that the same cohort occupied that station uninterruptedly for 260 years. Hence there can be no doubt such a frontier garrisoned by soldiers of a foreign clime, shut out from their own attached country, and tied together by one common interest and common language, would induce much social intercourse between the different stations. In the garden of the farm-house we saw a stone with an incomplete inscription on its rim. Were we to allow liberty to antiquarian imagination, this stone might have been for the purpose of regulating the distribution of *Libri* along the *linea Valli*. The number of stations, as appears from the *Liber Notitiarum Imperii*, is twenty-three. The names being placed at equal intervals round the rim of the stone, in regular order according to vicinity, if we suppose the *Libri* were changed once a month always in a regular manner; the *Libri* at Segedunum to be forwarded to Pons Ælii; those at Pons Ælii to Condercum, &c.; those at Olenacum to Virosidum, and the *Libri* at Virosidum to Segedunum: and further allow the *Novi Libri* to be given out monthly in the following identical order: Segedunum, Petriana, Pons Ælii, Aballaba, Condercum, Congavata, Vindobala, Axelodunum, Humum, Gabrosentis, Cilurnum, Tunnocelum, Procolitia, Glannibanta, Borcovicum, Alio, Vindolana, Bremetenracum, Ælsica, Olenacum, Magna, Virosidum, and Amboglanna, the following circumstances would be perpetuated. Every station would constantly receive a monthly supply of fresh books. No station could ever have a deficiency; none a superfluity of books. All the stations would be on a per-

fect equality as to priority in reading the books. A glance at the stone, which had no doubt a moveable concentric wheel within the circular rim, with the names of the books and the date on its circumference, would enable the Secretary in charge to know what books each station was reading; who also could quietly direct from time to time the course of reading at any station, and turn occurring events to Roman advantage. Such a plan was, in the scarcity of books before the discovery of printing had multiplied them, doubtless recommended by its economy. It is equally adapted to modern stations and to private book societies, whose members wish to purchase no more books than they have time to read, and be on a perfect equality as to priority of receiving the new books; the secretary also wishing to have only two minutes' trouble per month in directing the circulation. The plan loses none of its interest from our having been indebted for it to the Romans, and the restoration of the stone is probably complete.

The Wall as it leaves the station along the road-side, and for a considerable distance, has several courses of facing stones on both sides, and the ditch is distinct. Farther on we came to a place where had been cast up two Valla, thirty-five yards distance between. At a Mile Castle the two works approach the Wall, or rather its site upon the road; the first Vallum comes up to the Mile Castle. Leaving Banks Head we soon come to Pike Hill, where the scene is truly magnificent. On the south-west and south are the Cumberland Mountains and Tindall Fell; the wide-spreading Solway in the west, and Bewcastle Hill to the north. At some distance beyond this the Wall leaves the road, and a piece of the Wall is standing on the left 80 or 100 yards distant. The Wall may also be seen where it crosses Banksburn. Soon after we arrive at Harehill, where a portion of the Picts Wall, which separates a cottage garden from a field, is seen standing, 9 feet 8 inches in height. An ash tree which grew upon it was, last winter, blown down, and had carried a portion of the Wall with it. The tree was lying as it had fallen, and prevented us clearing away the sloping turf, when, probably, we should have found it little short of the height as seen by Warburton*. The facing stones on

* Warburton says, "This is the highest part of the wall that is anywhere now to be met with; we measured three yards and a half from the ground, and, no doubt, half a yard more is covered at the bottom by the rubbish, so that probably it stands here as its full original height."—*Vallum Romanum*, 4to, 1753. Although probably the highest, it is insignificant compared with the remains on Walltown Crags.

both sides have long since been gone, and it owes its preservation to the ivy with which it is strongly embraced.

“ Thus stands an ancient Wall with ivy bound ;
Thus youthful ivy clasps a wall around.”

At this point, according to arrangement, we turned down to visit Lanercost Priory. The cultivated grounds and standing crops of hay-grass interfered with our longer following the line of the Wall, which has long disappeared, although its northern fosse is mostly traceable through to Stanwicks.

At the distance of six miles and a quarter from Burdoswald stands the

*Thirteenth Station. PETRIANA. WALTON CHESTER, or
CASTSTEADS,*

but was not visited. Hutton speaks of this station as follows:—

“ The works are wholly gone ; for a gentleman, who like other ‘ wise men from the East,’ had acquired a fortune in India, recently purchased the estate on which this castle stood for thirteen thousand pounds, stocked up the foundation, and erected a noble house* on the spot. Other stations preserve the ruins, but this only the name ; and is the first which has been sacrificed to modern taste.”—*History of the Roman Wall*, p. 211.

The former appearance of the station is thus described by Hutchinson. “ This station, now surrounded with fine cultivated lands, and in the progress of improvement, most probably would have been totally destroyed and defaced, had not some former proprietor of the estate in which it lies, before the spirit of cultivation and enlarged husbandry had taken place in this county, and the depredations committed by the borderers had ceased, either planted, or, at least, suffered the whole station, with its outworks, to be over-run with a forest of oaks. By the bottoms or stoles of some of the trees, which, when we first visited the place, A. D. 1778, appeared to be then lately cut down ; they could not have attained the strength they showed in less than a century. This has, in a degree, preserved the distinct figure of the station. It lies about 400 yards south of the Prætenturæ of Hadrian and Severus, but must be admitted one of the stations ad lineam Valli, as it occurs at a very proper distance to answer to the station called Petriana in the Notitia, where the Ala Petriana was settled. The two now com-

* Walton House.

monly accepted names of Cambeck Fort and Castle Steads are thus to be accounted for; the former from the situation near the brook of Cambeck, the latter, the common appellation given to the castella and Roman stations of Casters or Chesters. The situation of this camp is excellent, on the ridge of a hill, having a swift descent to the north and south, and commanding an extensive prospect northward along the Wall, having in view the station of Watchcross westward, and Burdoswald to the east: and it was capable of being alarmed by any beacon from Carr-voran." *History of Cumberland*, p. 102.

Lanercost Priory, situated half a mile from the Wall, was visited by a numerous party, many from the neighbourhood and from Brampton having joined us. The church was undergoing complete restoration; a grant from the Crown, to whom the Priory belongs, having greatly aided the parishioners in that interesting object. The Picts Wall, which was distant about half a mile, furnished most of the materials for its structure. In the Denton MS., as quoted by Hutchinson, we find "Lanercost ad costeram vallis (on the side of the valley) was first a lawn or plain in that glen or valley, where the Picts Wall standeth, and Walton was so named, as the first habitation which was built on part of that Wall." Vol. I. p. 55.

On a tablet in the wall of the church is the following inscription: "Robertus de Vallibus, filius Hubert, Dns. de Gilsland, fundator Priorat. de Lanercost, A°. Dni. 1116. Ædargan Uxor ejus sine Prole." Robert de Vallibus, son of the Lord of Gilsland, founder of the Priory of Lanercost, Anno Domini 1116. Adargayne, his wife, having no issue.

In the crypt, walls of the out-buildings, and other places, were Roman altars and inscribed stones. One altar preserved here, which came from Burdoswald, has an inscription which reads thus: "To the holy god Silvanus, the hunters of Banna (Bewcastle) consecrate this." From this curious inscription it would appear that the Scots and Picts, prior to the building of the Wall, were sufficiently overawed to allow the Roman soldiers at Amboglanna to become sportsmen in the woods and moors of Bewcastle; the station of which was at first probably a sort of hunting box*.

* Mr. Hodgson quotes an inscription recorded by Hutchinson, which "makes it probable that the station of Bewcastle was subordinate to Amboglanna."—*History of Northumberland*, Vol. iii. Pt. ii. p. 206.

Having spent a considerable time examining the place, going up winding stairs and threading arches, we proceeded to Naworth Castle, where the noble owner, the Earl of Carlisle, had given instructions for the proper entertainment of the Pilgrims, and the Baronial Hall was set out with ancient pewter plates in style of former times. Here, also, in the grounds and other places are many Roman altars and stones, which came from Burdoswald; but our attention had by this time become fatigued, and most of our stay was taken up in examining what was easier, and more attractive as a novelty, the beautiful restorations of this border castle. The weather also began to threaten, and after a hasty visit to the library of the accomplished Lord William Howard, commonly called "belted Will," we found most of our companions, with *Romulus* and *Remus*, ready to start forward to Brampton and the rock on the Gelt. By the time we had reached the Gelt Bridge the rain had commenced. None of the party had ever seen the written rock; but several of them were loth to miss the present opportunity of examining it. Accordingly, engaging a little girl from the toll bar, the only guide we could obtain, six or eight of the party set forward, and, entering a wood, walked briskly for a mile and a half along the side of the river till we came to a stone quarry, which our juvenile guide said was *it*. We could see no writing, and were quite in a dilemma, till a labourer, who was passing by, set us *right*, and crossing the river a little higher up, as we were able, with our new guide, we descended on the opposite bank, till we came to some high smooth rocks, which we were informed was the *written rock*. Never was a cliff so examined before, but although all eyes were directed to it, no inscription, or anything *like* letters, could be discovered. Disappointed, but amused and cheerful, we crossed the Gelt a second time, and sought our friendly vehicle once more; but the "written rock of the Gelt," or the inscription, we failed to see. In Camden, p. 835, we find the following account: "Along near Brampton runs the little river Gelt, upon the bank whereof, in a rock called Helbeck, is this gaping*, imperfect inscription set up by an ensign of the second legion called Augusta, possibly that Optio under Agricola, the Proprætor, with some others; the sight whereof time has envy'd us." Then follows the inscription in a rude woodcut.

Since looking at an engraving of the "Written rock on Gelt," in

* In allusion to the carving of a head on the rock.

Hutchinson's Cumberland, I think it probable our second guide (although he had never seen the inscription, and knew not on what part to look for it) pointed out the true place, particularly as it is on the south side of the river, and the inscription cannot be seen except by the aid of a ladder.

From the many inscriptions recording the performance of a vow, these would appear to have been common in all ages, and among all nations, and founded upon the universal belief in some directing and controlling power over human affairs. "Then the men feared the Lord exceedingly, and offered a sacrifice unto the Lord, and made vows." *Jonah i. 16.* When performed, they would truly be considered useful, but very unwise and dangerous when broken.

At Brampton, the Mayor of Newcastle, whose official duties called him home, left the party, and proceeded to the Milton station.

We had now a long drive in the rain over cross roads to Stanwicks, where on Roman ground it had been appointed we should rest. On arriving about nine o'clock at the Rose and Thistle, we were informed that the farmers had been greatly alarmed on hearing that 300 Pilgrims were coming out of Northumberland across the fields by the line of the Picts Wall.

The evenings on these occasions were of a social character, and the events of each day furnished abundant sources of improving conversation, independent of the great topics—the Romans and their works. To several, the younger portion and the most advanced in life, the exertions had however become sufficiently fatiguing, whilst the absence of the Wall deprived the journey of the excitement which had hitherto been conspicuous, and had given a recurring interest to the expedition. But the greater portion suffered not, and maintained their attention and interest to the shores of the Solway.

CHAPTER VII.

Fourteenth Station. ABALLABA. STANWICKS.

ON the ensuing morning, Saturday, June 30th, the party viewed the site of the station at Stanwicks, and received the attentions of the Rev. Thos. Wilkinson, the vicar of that place. This gentleman presented the Pilgrims with a beautiful figure of Victory found in the walls of the Old Church when it was rebuilt*. We walked from the station, which occupied the site of the church-yard and adjoining gardens, some distance eastward, along the footpath which is upon the Wall leading to Tarraby. The fosse of the Wall is still visible, and some faint traces of Hadrian's works. We saw a quantity of stones lying in Mr. Watt's field which had been taken from the footpath. We spoke to the old clerk, Mr. John Hill, who informed us that he remembered the Wall standing sixty years ago, 4 feet high upon the path, and at Wall Know the fosse of the Vallum was very distinct at that time.

The church stands upon the Wall which ran along the north rampart of the station. Although this station must yield to many others in the number of its inscriptions, it may boldly assert a pre-eminent rank in the beauty of its situation. Eastward from the footpath may be seen, at twenty miles distance, the nine niches in the Basaltic mountain ridge we had trodden, beyond Thirlwall and Caervorran. On the south appear the beautiful grounds of Rickerby House, the seat of G. H. Head, Esq., the winding of the Eden, the ancient city, and the long vista of country terminating in the Cumbrian Mountains. In the church-yard were three ancient bases of pillars, or capitals, lying against the walls of the church.

West of the station the north ditch is very distinct. The Wall passed along the eastern boundary of Hyssop Holme Well,

* The argument advanced on the care of the station antiquities rests upon two points, which, under all the circumstances, are probably the best supported; that they should be preserved either at the place to which they belong, or in the castle of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

thence across the Eden, where, in Camden's time, the foundations were to be seen in the channel. But whether it joined the Castle Wall, or passed to the northward, I must leave others to determine. Leland, who had a commission from the King to travel in search of antiquities, speaking of the Pictish Waulle, says: "Fro Bolnes to Burgh, about a iiii Myles, fro thens yt goeth within half a Myle of Cairluel, and less on the north side, and crosseth over Edon a iii Quarters of a Myle benethe Cairluel."—*Itin.* vol. vii. p. 60. Although Carlisle is not in the list of Notitia stations, yet there is no doubt of its being the Roman station of Luguwallum or Lugubalia, concerning which, take the following extract from Leland: "In digging to make new Building yn the Towne often tymes hath bene, and now a late fownd diverse Foundations of the old Cite, as Pavimentes of Streates, Old Arches of Dores, Coyne, Stones squared, paynted Pottes, mony hid yn Pottes, so hold and muldid that when it was strongly towched yt went almost to moulder. The Irisch Men cawlle *Bale* a Towne, and so peraventure did the old *Scottes*. Thus might be said that Lugubalia soundeth *Luels Towne*."—*Ibid.* p. 57. Antoninus calls it *Laguwallum ad Vallum*, which, as Camden says, "runs just by the city; and the *Picts Wall*, that was afterwards built upon the Wall of Severus, is to be seen at Stanwicks, a small village a little beyond the Eden (over which there is a wooden bridge). It passed the river over against the castle, where, in the very channel, the remains of it, namely great stones, appear to this day. Also Pomponius Mela has told us, that *Lugus* or *Lucus* signified a Tower among the old *Celtæ*, who spoke the same language with the Britains."—*Brit.* p. 833.

What is meant in the preceding extract from Camden, as to the Picts Wall being built upon the Wall of Severus, is not quite clear. To suppose that Severus only laid out the line, and 200 years afterwards, according to Malmsbury, the Romans, aided by the Britons, erected a stately Wall thereon, will not satisfy the demands of antiquaries, who claim the whole for Hadrian and Severus.

"That this City flourished in the times of the Romans does plainly enough appear, both from the several evidences of antiquity they now and then dig up, and from the frequent mention made of it by Roman authors. And even after the ravages of the Picts and Scots, it retained something of its ancient beauty, and was reckoned a *city*. For in the year of our Lord 619, Egfrid, King of Northumberland, gave it to the famous St. Cuthbert, in these words. *I have also bestowed upon him the city called Luguballia, with the*

lands fifteen miles round it. At which time also, it was walled round. *The citizens* (says Bede) *carried Cuthbert to see the Walls of the City, and a Well of admirable workmanship built in it by the Romans.* At which time, Cuthbert founded a religious house for nuns, with an Abbess and schools. Afterwards, being miserably destroyed by the Danes, it lay buried for about 200 years in its own ashes, till it began to flourish again by the favour and assistance of William Rufus, who built it anew with a castle, and planted there a colony, first of the Flemings, then of English, sent out of the south. *Then* (as Malmsbury has it) *was to be seen a Roman Triclinium, or dining-room of stones, arched over, which neither the violence of Weather nor Fire could destroy.* On front of it was this inscription, *Marii Victoriae.* Luguballia grown populous was honoured with an Episcopal See by Henry I., and had Athulph for its first Bishop. How the Scots in the reign of King Stephen took this City, and Henry II. recovered it: how Henry III. committed the Castle of Carlisle and the country to Robert de *Veteri ponte* or *Vipont*; how in the year 1292 it was burnt down, along with the Cathedral and suburbs*; how Robert *Brus*, the Scot, in the year 1315, besieged it without success, &c., are treated of at large in our *Histories*.—*Cam. Brit.* p. 833.

An altar was found in 1829, on Gallow Hill, a mile south of Carlisle. “To the shades. Aurelia Aurelia lived forty years. Ulpian Apolinaris set up to his most dear wife.”

Other Roman remains which have been described in Leland and Camden, and some discovered since, leave no doubt of this place being the site of a Roman City, probably of the earliest date.

At the Castle the party were met by Mr. D. Wilkie, who, in the most courteous manner, conducted them over the various departments of this ancient Norman Castle, the one built by Rufus. The Roman stones to be seen in the Walls are innumerable. The Roman Well, 90 feet deep, is precisely similar in its construction, to that in the Norman keep, at Newcastle and at Housesteads. Several of the company ascended the great tower, from which an extensive and charming prospect is seen on every side. We saw Queen Mary’s table, inspected spears of the 14th century, ammunition and implements of modern warfare, bed-rooms of the soldiers,

* “The Chronicle of *Lanercost* is very particular in describing this lamentable fire. He that recorded the account was an eye-witness, and says that the fire was so violent, that it consumed the villages two miles off, as well as the church, castle, and the whole city; by his relation, it should seem that the city was then much larger, and more populous than at present (1600) it is.”—*Ibid.*

and the dungeon, with the offset of the foundation for a stone seat all round. The soldier who held the torch informed us that George Fox, the founder of the Society of Friends, was the last person that was confined in it.

Mr. Memess, the master gunner, also showed us much civility and attention, and presented the Pilgrims with several Roman remains, which were found in digging for foundations within the Castle Walls.

We have lost sight of the Wall and the Vallum, and time would not allow us to visit the cathedral; accordingly we pushed onwards after stopping at Coldale Hall, the residence of George Mould, Esq., to inspect a fine altar found near Penrith in constructing the Lancaster and Carlisle Railway; also a Roman urn found along the line of the Caledonian Railway. At Kirkandrews, upon Eden, we were invited to examine another Roman altar, which was found at Kirksteads, and is in the possession of Thos. Norman, Esq. At both places we received the polite attention of the owners. The Picts Wall passed through Kirkandrew's church-yard, in which were many Roman stones fixed in the ground that had belonged to the Wall. Mr. Bell's coach-house and stables are built of the same stones. The north ditch in an adjoining meadow is very conspicuous. In this cultivated district little or no remains of the Wall, I believe exist, but its course is mostly known. It passed between the Windmill and the Thistle Inn, kept by Jane Baty; further on, the line of the Wall is upon the road, and its fosse is distinctly seen.

Fifteenth Station. CONGAVATA. BURGH.

Arriving at Burgh, where we were to dine, the Pilgrims visited the Church, which, during the long period of the border wars, was at once a place of worship, a strong fortress, and a secure prison. The last two occupied the massy structure of the square tower.

In the church-yard the following lines are engraven upon a brass plate, to the memory of a child named Hannah Hodgson, who died Feb. 3rd, 1745-6.

“ Here lies a maiden in whose tender breast
 Each hope, each blooming virtue stood confess'd ;
 Tho' short her date, she saw Peace leave the land,
 And fierce Rebellion heave his bloody hand.
 Saw hostile Rancour, ruthless Rapine rage,
 Gone all her joys that Innocence engage.
 To her release the dire Infection came,
 And in the friendly tomb reposed her frame ;
 From noise, from tumult, (sure her death is gain,)
 She's fled where love and peace for ever reign.”

The station at Burgh is said to have been a little to the east of the Church, near what is called the Old Castle, but I know not whether any of the party went to view its site. No station stones or any part of the Wall can be expected to be seen in a district destitute of native stone. Indeed, except from the testimony of Leland and Camden, the inscribed stones would not afford the light sufficient to pronounce it a Roman Station. Leland writes—"Burgh yn the Sand stondeth a myle of fro the hyther Banke of Edon. Yt is a village by the which remayne the Ruines of a greate Place, now clene desolated, wher King Edward the Fyrst dyed. Here was xv yeres ago the Lord Maxwel sore wounded, many slaine, and drounid in Edon."—*Lel. Itin.* vol. vii. p. 55.

The inscription on a stone found in the Vicar's garden is complete and very legible, but the letters, which are DEO BELATVCA are very rudely formed. The other is an altar that was found in 1792, in cutting a drain 4 or 5 feet below the surface of the ground. Both are dedicated to *Belatucader* the Mars or Apollo of the Britons. The latter prays for prosperity to the person who raised it and his family, *pro se et suis*. A representation may be seen in Hutchinson's Cumberland, from which the preceding account is taken. Its height is 6 inches, and breadth 4 inches; it is different in its shape and appearance from the common Roman altar. Hodgson says, the Lysons were told this last was found between Burgh Castle and Wormelby. Another small altar bears the following inscription. "The centurion of the Vexillation of the sixth legion made this to the domestic mother."* This was found in digging up the foundations of the Piets Wall at Dykesfield.

Another inscription is as follows: HERCVLI ET NVMINI AVG COL. This inscription to Hercules and the Divine Augustus by a cohort whose name is wanting, is on the upper half of an altar, built up in the house of Mr. John Hodgson at Cross. It was found in the line of the Wall.

After the Pilgrims had partaken of an excellent dinner at the Inn, they proceeded, under the guidance of the Rev. John Brown, M.A., of Bowness, and other gentlemen, across Burgh Marsh, an immense expanse of fenny pasturage. Here Edward I., King of England, died in his camp, on his expedition against the Scots, July

* The cohorts of the Roman armies were divided into centuries, each of which was under the command of a centurion, and had its own vexillum, or ensign, on which its number was inscribed; hence, a century, or a detachment of a cohort, under a centurion, was called a vexillatio."—*Hodgson's Hist. of Northumberland.*

7, 1307. The spot where the royal tent was pitched is marked by a monumental column, bearing the following inscription :

MEMORIE ÆTERNÆ
EDVARDI I. REGIS ANGLIÆ LONGE
CLARISSIMI QVI IN BELLI APPARATV
CONTRA SCOTOS OCCVPATVS IIIIC
IN CASTRIS OBIIT 7. IVLII A.D. 1307.

“The inhabitants (as we find in Camden, p. 830) say that under this Burgh, in the very æstuary, there was a sea-fight between the Scotch and English ; and that when the tide was out, it was managed by the horse : which seems no less strange than what Pliny relates, not without great admiration, of such another place in Caramania. This æstuary is called by both nations *Solway-Frith*, from Solway, a town of the Scots that stands upon it. But Ptolemy names it more properly Ituna ; for the Eiden, a very considerable river, which winds along Westmoreland and the inner parts of this county, falls into it with a vast body of waters ; still remembering what rubs and stops the carcasses of the Scots gave it in the year 1216, after it had drowned them with their loads of English spoils, and swallowed up that plundering crew.”

Sixteenth Station. AXELODUNUM. DRUMBUGH OR DRUMBURGH.

On the western edge of the marsh stands Drumburgh, and Mr. Richard Lawson, who had accompanied the party on horseback over Burgh Marsh, conducted us over the site of the station in his grounds. The ground is uneven and ditches are distinct, as if buildings had been once upon it. Many years ago, a well 5 feet in diameter, was discovered. The Wall ran through two fields belonging to Mr. Lawson, which adjoin the station. On the east side the foundations of the Wall were met with, when the Carlisle Canal was formed. In another place, in digging the canal, a considerable quantity of oak wood was found beneath the foundations, from part of which a chair in the Library of the Antiquarian Society of Newcastle was constructed.

The Solway is fordable when the tide is out, and in times gone by, was the scene of incessant border robbery *. Mr. Lawson re

* Thirty or forty years ago, one of the most popular games among the village boys, throughout Cumberland, was *Scotch and English*, which is correctly described in Hutton's History of the Roman Wall. Two equally active boys divide, by lot the village boys into two parts, to represent England and Scotland. A line is

lated the following. One Nicholas Rome Tordiff had crossed the water nineteen times to rob and plunder the English, when, growing uneasy with the remembrance of his past practices, he fully resolved, after the twentieth time, to change his life. He came once more, and was killed by Mrs. Lawson's grandfather. How frequently an evil action is repeated *once too often*.

Leland says, "Drumbuygh ys in the mydde way bytwyxt Bolness and Burgh. The stones of the Picts Wall were pulled down to build Drumbuygh, for the Wal is very nere it."

Axelodunum is the sixteenth station, *ad lineam valli* of the Notitia, and Drumburgh is the sixteenth from the Walls-end, *ergo* Axelodunum is Drumburgh. Hodgson states that "the only stone that can with any appearance of accuracy be attributed to Drumburgh is that which Brand was presented with by the owner of the house, in which it was built up, and the brief burden of which was *coh. VIII.*"—Vol. iii. Pt. 2, p. 225.

Drumburgh Castle is built wholly of stones from the Wall: one or two Roman altars, which came from Old Carlisle, are built into the garden wall. Between this place and Burgh, I believe not the slightest vestige of the Wall is to be seen. It is uncertain whether it crossed the Marsh or by the south side of it. Tradition and probability favour the latter. No appearance of the Vallum has been traced beyond this place. Kirkbride Water, approaching within three miles, might render the Vallum in the Peninsula superfluous. It is, however, only in "the flow of its tide," and in the map, that the Solway appears formidable; during the ebb it affords no protection.

As the evening was advancing, the party now pushed on towards Bowness. The Wall ran close by the south side of the New School house, on the road side; then along a fence parallel to the road, where the ditch is very distinct; the narrow field on the brow, called Wallrigg, cannot be ploughed on account of the stones.

drawn on the green to denote the wall, and, at a convenient distance behind each party, their respective hats, coats, and other property are deposited. Each party then endeavours to steal and take the property of the other. If one is caught in the enemy's ground, either with or without plunder, he is made a prisoner, and can be released only by one of his own side. In this way all the men and property of one party sometimes came into the possession of the other. The remembrance of these border scenes has, however, worn away. Inquiring, lately, of a person in one of these villages, if the boys played at Scotch and English yet—"Ah!" exclaimed he, "I have not seen *Scotch and English* played these twenty years."

Approaching Bowness, the Wall forms the boundary hedge, at the length of the fields next the road and shore. The ditch was formerly the mill-race of the old Water-mill, and still forms the ancient boundary between the parishes of Bowness and Burgh. Within half a mile of Bowness this ditch is very deep, and alder trees are growing at the bottom. In the field by its side were a very large heap of stones, with the mortar attached to them, which a short time before had formed the foundations of the Wall.

Seventeenth Station. GABROSENTIS. BOWNESS.

The station at Bowness, perhaps, more properly belongs to the line of stations along the coast by Ellenborough and Moresby, with which, if tradition speaks truly, it was connected by a military road, than to the line of the Wall by Drumburgh and Burgh. Its situation is elevated, but nothing now remains of it. A letter from Sir John Clerk, dated 19th August, 1739, inserted in the "History of Cumberland," gives the following description.

"The station at Boulness has been a large square, all fortified with ditches, faced with square stones; few ruins, except an old square vault, remain. The Wall of Severus is very conspicuous here for a mile or two, though sometimes levelled to the ground. Nothing remains but the middle of the building, and indeed this appears, in some places where I measured it, 8, 9, and 10 ft. high: the outside and inside have been of squared stones. Thousands of cart loads remain, and at times the quantity is visible in all the houses and inclosures hereabouts. Nothing is to be seen half a mile from this Wall, but small inclosures of two or three acres, fenced with these stones. I believe the inside of the Wall is built irregularly for the most part. The cement is a mixture of lime and small gravel, with some shells beat together, and poured in with water from the top, till the interstices were filled up. This way has been imitated by myself and some modern builders with good effect, and never fails to make strong walls."

When the Solway Hotel, at Port Carlisle, was built, a considerable portion of the Wall that remained was, in the absence of the proprietor, taken to furnish the materials. One immense mass of concreted stones, gravel, shells, and lime, which resisted all the efforts of separation, is lying on the spot, and will probably long remain to point out at this place the course of the Wall. Over the

door of the above hotel is built up the fragment of an altar, containing the commencement of an inscription—

MATRIBVS SVIS

the lower part being broken off. Mr. Hodgson says, “to my sketch of it I have neither note nor history, excepting that the old clergyman of the place told the lazy young men who hung upon their parents, that it meant, *From your mothers, lads.*”

Over a stable door, belonging to Mr. Hodgson of Bowness, is built up an altar found in a field, south east of the village, in 1739, bearing the following inscription very legible.

I.O.M.

PRO SALVTE

D.D N.N. GALLI

ET VOLVSIANI

AVGG. SVLPICIVS

SECYNDINVS

TRIB. CO

R. POSVIT.

Jovi optimo maximo pro salute Dominorum nostrorum Galli et Volusiani Augustorum Sulpicius Secundinus tribunus cohortis posuit.

To Jupiter the best and greatest. For the safety of our Lords, Gallus and Volusianus Augustus, Sulpicius Secundinus, Tribune of the Cohort, placed this.

Gallus and Volusianus were joint emperors, A.D. 251.

On such judgment as could be afforded by an incomplete examination of the country and the Roman ramparts, it would appear that the term *per lineam valli*, in the Notitia, had a more extensive signification than is usually accepted, extending from Tynemouth to Ellenborough, and including the cities scattered between the parallels of Netherby and Bewcastle on the north, and of Moresby and Plumpton on the south of Hadrian's Vallum. At the distance of 4 or 5 miles south of the middle point, between Old Carlisle and Ellenborough, is Caer Mote; an elevation upon high ground, forming the commencement of the Cumberland mountain scenery. Near which is a square encampment inclosed in a double fosse, extending from east to west 120 paces, a description of which, by Mr. West, may be seen in his “Guide to the Lakes;” and quoted in Hutchinson's Cumberland, Vol. ii. p. 368. From Caer Mote the following Roman stations may probably be seen:—Papcastle,

Moresby, Ellenborough, Bowness, and the rest of the Solway Stations to Carlisle and Stanwicks, Old Carlisle, Castle Crag near Keswick, within a few miles of the Roman station at Ambleside. In this enumeration I omit Ireby, according to Camden and others, the *Arbeia* of the Romans. "Whether these camps are the *Arbeia*," adds Mr. West, "I do not pretend to say; but that they were of use to the Romans is evident." These Roman stations, under the government of the 'Duke of Britain,' were probably coeval with the permanence of the Roman power in these parts, and communicated with each other by roads and intermediate forts, which time and long cultivation have withdrawn from our sight*. The Roman forts and stations at a considerable distance from the Wall are very numerous in Cumberland, where the Scots and Picts most frequently appeared. Had the Wall been built by Hadrian and Severus, the Roman forces would scarcely have been strongly posted at the Old Carlisle, situated eight miles from the nearest point of the barrier, or at Moresby, Papcastle, Rose Castle, Plumpton and Ellenborough, all of which lie within scarcely greater distance. A unity and similarity appear in the inscriptions written at Ellenborough and Housesteads, at Old Carlisle and Cilurnum. One monument at Ellenborough was raised in memory of Julia Mama-tina, who lived twenty-one years and three months. A head expresses the lady, and a setting sun the funeral subject. This stone might have belonged to any of the stations we visited on the east of Carlisle. And the following description of Ellenborough, given by Pennant, might serve very well for *Borcovicus*. "On a

* In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1755 are the following remarks relative to two altars found at Old Carlisle! "I send you the best drawing I could make of two Roman altars, lately found by some workmen as they were digging for the foundation of a ring-wall, against the common at Old Carlisle, about 200 yards east of the station. The aggers, prætorium, ditches, and roads belonging to this station are still traced by their remains on this uncultivated common; and the *Alæ Auxiliariæ* appear, by many scattered ruins, to have been encamped eastward a long way."—G. S.

What a fruitful, untrodden field would be occupied by a Cumberland Antiquarian Society at Carlisle! There are probably more Roman antiquities preserved or undiscovered in this county than elsewhere; and a clear and connected history of the past British county has never appeared. Without support from Cumberland gentlemen generally, and others connected with the county, however, such a society would with difficulty subsist, even in a neighbourhood which has the honour of producing Cumberland's greatest ornament. Possibly there may be no congenial feeling for such studies, or any one to lament, with a Carlisle member of the Newcastle Society,

"That Time has turn'd coward, and no thee and me."

hill at the north end of the town (Maryport) are the remains of a large Roman station, square, surrounded with double ditches, and furnished with four entrances, commanding a view to Scotland, and round the neighbouring country. Antiquaries differ about the ancient name; one styles it Olenacum, another, Virosidum, and Camden, Volantium, from the wish inscribed on a beautiful altar found here. It had been a considerable place, and had its military roads leading from it to Moorsby, to Old Carlisle, and towards Ambleside; and has been a perfect magazine of Roman antiquities." Horsley mentions the inscriptions found at Ellenborough as follows:—"I believe there is no one Roman Station in Britain where so great a number of inscriptions have been found, as at *Ellenborough*; and most of the originals are yet preserved at Ellenborough Hall, the seat of Humphrey Senhouse, Esq., who is the proprietor of the ground on which the Roman station has been, and the worthy descendant of John Senhouse, Esq., whom Camden commends "for his great civility to Sir Robert Cotton and himself, for his skill in antiquity, and for the great care with which he preserved such curiosities." A Senhouse is still the proprietor and preserver of these invaluable remains.

The Picts Wall, in the absence of demonstration, bears strong evidence of being a later work, and the knowledge and testimony of St. Gildas and Bede, who lived shortly after the Roman times, may be more safely depended upon, as to the origin of the Wall, than the theories which have arisen since.

On Sunday morning, 1st of July, the party attended Bowness Church, and a sermon was preached by Mr. Brown, where they were reminded that the pilgrimage just concluded, was but a portion of the longer one to the "city with golden streets."

"No more the rising sun shall gild the morn,
Nor evening Cynthia fill her silver horn;
But lost, dissolved in thy superior rays,
One tide of glory, one unclouded blaze
O'erflow thy courts: the Light himself shall shine
Reveal'd, and God's eternal day be thine!"

The Messiah.

On the following day, the Pilgrims turned their faces eastward, and, still attended by the Rev. Mr. Brown and other gentlemen, traced the Wall as they went in some parts, which the lateness of

the evening preceding had prevented. Reaching Carlisle about noon, they started by the mid-day train for Hexham, where they were met by the Rev. Joseph Huddleston, vicar, and Mr. Joseph Fairless, the Hexham antiquary. Accompanied by these two valuable guides, they visited the venerable cathedral, its curious crypt and Roman remains, with the old fortified towers of Hexham.

After dining at Haydon Bridge, they visited Langley Castle, and Staward-le-Peel: on coming in view of the former fortress, they were surprised to see its walls and base covered with a gaily dressed throng. The work-people of the smelt mills and other works in the neighbourhood, desirous of joining the party and hearing Mr. Bruce's explanatory observations, had risen that morning at four o'clock to expedite their labour. These people, their wives and children, had, by this time taken possession of the castle walls. Mr. Bruce, loth to disappoint so laudable a desire, placed himself in one of the old fire-places, and delivered an excellent extempore address, in which he made allusions to the historical monuments of the district, compared the past with the present, and concluded by touching upon the principal features of the building. The multitude expressed their approbation by three cheers.

Staward-le-Peel, and the rocky and picturesque dells beneath, having been explored, the party returned to Haydon Bridge, where they slept.

On Tuesday, 3rd of July, they were met at Dilston station, by John Grey, Esq., of Dilston, who accompanied them to his residence, where he and Mrs. Grey had provided a sumptuous repast. After dinner, Mr. Grey accompanied the party through the grounds of his house, the castle and the chapel of the Derwentwaters, and thence to the station of *Corstopitum*, near Corbridge, having previously viewed the foundations of the Roman bridge over the Tyne, a little above the present structure. In the evening the party proceeded to Newcastle.

Throughout the Pilgrimage, the kindness and hospitality of the occupiers of the Roman stations, as well as others along the route, were indeed most cordial; and Camden's learned commentator would now extend a just observation on the gentry of Northumberland, and apply it to an adjoining county.

My readers will be pleased to see another and more vivid account of the progress from Cilurnum to Vindolana, by a gentleman who joined the party on the morning of the 27th of June.

A Day with the Pilgrims

ALONG THE

Roman Wall.

(RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED TO JOHN COLLINGWOOD BRUCE, M.A., AND THE
ANTIQUARIES OF NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.)

I.

BEFORE the Glorious Dreamer lived,
And planned the work which cannot die,
Men had the Pilgrim's name received,
With various objects in their eye.
And many years before that time,
Smarting beneath a Tyrant's rod,
The PILGRIM FATHERS sought a clime
Where they might breathe, and worship God.
And he a Pilgrim truly is,
Who for Religion's honour'd sake,
Abandoning inglorious ease,
Doth any arduous journey take.
Be it to BORCOVICUS' site,
(Now Housesteads called, in country phrase)
Erewhile the scene of Mythric rite,
Upon its ruined walls to gaze,
Where ancient men, in mode obscene,
Their offerings and libations made.
Blind Pagans—they to Heaven's Queen,
Or to the Sun, their worship paid.

II.

A brave Enthusiast Band, I ween,
And famed for Antiquarian lore,
Was that, which we have lately seen
The famous ROMAN WALL explore.
But we may speak of what we know—
Brief travellers on the Pilgrims' road,
And leave to learned scribes, to show
The track where ancient men have trod,
From famed Walls-end, on Coaly Tyne,
To Solway Frith, where Bowness stands;
Replete with Ruin—Altar—Shrine—
THE WALL, the wonder of these lands—

To tell how we set out to go
 On Pilgrimage, one Summer's day ;
 (How many willing, Heaven to know,
 And gather flowrets by the way)
 And then confess when night came on,
 Were fain to measure home our track.
 So, many a Pliable has gone,
 Till Slough of Despond turned him back.

III.

But similies aside—a Band,
 Fired by the love of ancient lore,
 From HEXHAM'S fair and fruitful land
 Set out, CILURNUM to explore.
 There, snug ensconced behind the WALL,
 The PILGRIMS FROM THE EAST they found.
 Refreshed in Clayton's generous Hall,
 They slept as on enchanted ground.
 They ranged the gardens, lawns, and paths,
 The mansion and the woods admired—
 But more than these, the Ancient Baths,
 And relics rare, their fancy fired.
 Now on to Carrowbrough they march,
 (The PROCOLITIA of yore,)
 And 'mid the ancient ruins search,
 As miners search for golden ore ;
 For here, their passion to provoke,
 An Altar's base, inscribed, is found :
 And smaller relics, at each stroke,
 Stag's-horns—blades—Roman pots are found.

IV.

But who can paint the route sublime,
 O'er crag and glen, through fen and fields—
 The motley group that dive, and climb,
 To Busy-gap, and Sewing-shields ?
 Another march—a halt—and now
 On BORCOVICUS' walls we stand.
 Hail, splendid Ruin—famous thou—
 Great Tadmor of our Native Land !
 Yet here, within that murky cave,
 The blood of bulls and men has flowed,
 Whilst to the SUN, the Heathen gave
 The homage due alone to GOD.
 Here too, full oft, in later days,
 Yet now remote, 'mid border wars,
 Some hostile clan has scoured these ways,
 Some bold Moss Trooper swept the scars.

But BRUCE who heads our Troop to day,
 A mild Invasion to confer,
 Instructs his PILGRIMS by the way—
 EVANGELIST—INTERPRETER.

V.

Wayfaring men have still their wants,
 And Nature's carpet aye is spread ;
 'Tis noon,—each weary Pilgrim pants
 For cooling brook, and cheerful bread.
 So down upon the grassy bank,
 Where erst a Roman Kitchen steamed,
 They sat, and thankful eat and drank,
 Whilst open wallets viands teemed.
 Where Pilgrims meet, 'tis common ground,
 One Brotherhood they seem to be ;
 No odious difference is found,
 The Squire and Peasant one to me.
 The Priest—his vestments laid aside,
 Can gaily chat, and blandly smile ;
 Some one the Doctor's horse may ride,
 And he shall trudge on foot the while.
 Away the Travellers' waggons wend,
 Mayor, Clerk, and Corporators here,
 And there a modest Female Friend,
 Like Mercy follows in the rear.

VI.

Alas ! that men should ever meet
 In masses, only to destroy.
 Who can express the rapture sweet
 Which Philanthropic hearts enjoy ?
 Our Caravan now gaily swells
 With country girls, and peasantry,
 Who nimbly trip the savage fells,
 And cheer us with their pleasantry.
 Each hill and vale, they give a name,
 Or if one chance to fail, may hap
 To give our journey greater fame,
 We call that glen the *Pilgrims' Gap*.
 Lo ! where the wild Northumbrian Lakes,
 Amidst surrounding heath appear ;
 Neglected beauties, for your sakes
 This whole excursion were not dear.
 How oft, in solemn solitude
 Your waters gleam unseen by men,
 Or only by the Herd Boy viewed,
 From lofty crag, or bosky glen !

VII.

At length, as evening veils the scene,
 To VINDOLANA'S shades we come,
 Where art with nature reigns serene,
 Amid thy beauties, Chester Holme!
 O, shade of HEDLEY! 'midst these grots
 Thy hands had decked in classic style,
 Dwells now thy spirit, haunts these spots,
 Could once thy happiest hours beguile?
 And, O! relieved from mortal coil,
 Canst thou not solve those mysteries now,
 Which sagest Antiquaries foil,
 As yet but Pilgrims here below?
 Perhaps, e'en now, thou musing walk'st
 With SEVERUS along the WALL—
 Or else with HADRIAN thou talk'st,
 As at each ROMAN POST ye call.
 And now with HODGSON, lately come,
 STUKELY, and WAREBURTON, ye stray—
 Anon, from hills of CONDERCUM
 Ye beckon, ADAMSON away!

VIII.

A wail for heathen darkness past,
 For Severus and Hadrian—
 For ancient ROME—we stand aghast,
 To think what man hath done to man.
 No vallum, ditch, or wall we need,
 No armed foe our housestead sees;
 For us no hecatomb doth bleed,
 We shout the victories of PEACE.
 The Age of Chivalry is gone,
 No hostile Legions here we see,
 But greater Conquests ye have won,
 RELIGION and PHILANTHROPY.
 Absence but makes our homes more dear,
 As wanderers will sadly learn;
 For wives and little ones are there,
 And fondly wait for their return.
 On Beulah's mount the Pilgrims wait,
 And view from far their happy home;
 The shining ones are at the gate—
 We come, the Pilgrims cry, we come!

J. R.

Hexham, July 2nd, 1849.

APPENDIX.

ON THE ROMAN WALLS IN BRITAIN.

FROM THE ANGLO-SAXON WRITERS.

PROBABLY no evidence derived from the mediæval ages as to the authors and origin of the Roman ramparts, can be considered equal in value to the testimony of Gildas, who lived in the century succeeding the departure of the Romans, and whom William of Malmesbury in his Chronicle* calls the 'wisest of the Britons';—or of the venerable Bede† whose credit, it is no slight praise to say, time has not diminished, and whose place of constant residence, a century later, was favourable for inquiry into the origin of these barriers. Yet the concurring testimony of other early writers, if not all taken from the same source, is not a little remarkable, and confirms the view we have taken in the history and description of the Wall. I am, however, not unwilling to concede, that part of their knowledge was derived from tradition, conveyed, in the neighbourhood of the Wall, from father to son. It will be acknowledged that greater force may be laid upon this sort of evidence in proportion as other modes were wanting of conveying to posterity a knowledge of local events. In the times to which we allude the art of printing was unknown, and the art of writing was almost unknown, or confined to a few persons in the monasteries; and the occupations of the people furnished in general no desire to quit a settled habitation‡. The

* Chap. III., p. 67.—*Dr. Giles's Edition, London, 1847.*

† "Remember the most noble teacher of our times, Bede, the priest; what thirst for learning he had in his youth, what praise he now has among men, and what a far greater reward of glory with God."—*Testimony of Alcuin*; "who was, of all the Angles of whom I have read, next to St. Aldhelm and Bede, certainly the most learned."—*William of Malmesbury*, pp. 63, 66.

‡ To form some estimate of traditional evidence, I may mention the following, related to me, in 1826, by an old man, the late Mr. Joseph Railton, of Torpenhow, a village in Cumberland, in whose youth all the inhabitants lived upon their own property, the cottages being held under the Salkelds of Whitehall, at the yearly tenure of one day's shearing. He told me, he remembered having heard his father say, that he had been informed by his father, that he knew *four priors*, all of them ancient men, who lived at Priorhall, and performed duty at the churches of Bolton, Ireby, Torpenhow, and Uldale. As Priorhall is not noticed in Hutchinson's History of Cumberland, I may remark, that these churches are situated near together, on the verge of each parish, and at a convenient distance from that small hamlet. From the register of the parish, the grandfather, above mentioned, appears to have been

character of the evidence which I am about to adduce on the Roman earthen ramparts or walls, may to some appear traditionary. By others who notice the agreement which exists in these chronicles, and the absence of any apparent motive to deceive posterity, on this subject at least, the accounts will be viewed as taken from Bede and Gildas. In either case I leave the character of the writers and the estimation in which they were held by their contemporaries, and by our early antiquaries, to speak for themselves. As Gildas was the earlier of those writers, I shall give an extract from what he has left us on the state of Britain when the Roman forces were withdrawn.

GILDAS*.

§ 14. After this, Britain is left deprived of all her soldiery and armed bands, of her cruel governors, and of the flower of her youth, who went with Maximus†, but never again returned; and utterly ignorant as she was of the art of war, groaned in amazement for many years under the cruelty of two foreign nations—the Scots from the north-west, and the Picts from the north.

§ 15. The Britons, impatient at the assaults of the Scots and Picts, their hostilities and dreadful oppressions, send ambassadors to Rome with letters, entreating in piteous terms the assistance of an armed band to protect them, and offering loyal and ready submission to the authority of Rome, if they only would expel their invading foes. A legion is immediately sent, forgetting their past rebellion, and provided sufficiently with arms. When they had crossed over the sea, and landed, they came at once to close conflict with their cruel enemies, and slew great numbers of them. All of them were driven beyond the borders, and the humiliated natives rescued from the bloody slavery which awaited them. By the advice of their protectors, they now built a wall across the island from one sea to the other, which, being manned with a proper force, might be a terror to the foes whom it was intended to repel, and a protection to their friends whom it covered. But this Wall, being made of turf instead of stone, was of no use to that foolish people, who had no head to guide them.

§ 16. The Roman legion had no sooner returned in joy and
married in 1709, and the following year to have lived at Parkhouse, a farm adjoining to Priorhall. My friend, the Rev. Joseph Thexton, of Torpenhow, informs me, that “there is little doubt of a priory having been there, as its name indicates; and the parish churches all verging towards that spot, tends to strengthen this opinion.”

* Gildas flourished A. D. 546.

† A. D. 387.

triumph, than their former foes, like hungry and ravening wolves, rushing with greedy jaws upon the fold which is left without a shepherd, and wafted both by the strength of oarsmen and the blowing wind, break through the boundaries and spread slaughter on every side, and, like mowers cutting down the ripe corn, they cut up, tread under foot, and overrun the whole country.

§ 17. And now again they send suppliant ambassadors, with their garments rent and their heads covered with ashes, imploring assistance from the Romans; and like timorous chickens crowding under the protecting wings of their parents, that their wretched country might not altogether be destroyed, and that the Roman name, which now was but an empty sound to fill the ear, might not become a reproach even to distant nations. Upon this the Romans, moved with compassion, as far as human nature can be, at the relations of such horrors, send forward, like eagles in their flight, their unexpected bands of cavalry by land, and mariners by sea; and, planting their terrible swords upon the shoulders of their enemies, they mow them down like leaves which fall at the destined period; and as a mountain-torrent swelled with numerous streams, and bursting its banks with roaring noise, with foaming crest, and yeasty wave rising to the stars, by whose eddying currents our eyes are as it were dazzled, does with one of its billows overwhelm every obstacle in its way, so did our illustrious defenders vigorously drive our enemies' band beyond the sea, if any could so escape them; for it was beyond those same seas that they transported, year after year, the plunder which they had gained, no one daring to resist them.

§ 18. The Romans, therefore, left the country, giving notice that they could no longer be harassed by such laborious expeditions, nor suffer the Roman standards with so large and brave an army to be worn out by sea and land by fighting against these unwarlike, plundering vagabonds; but that the islanders, inuring themselves to warlike weapons, and bravely fighting, should valiantly protect their country, their property, wives and children; and, what is dearer than these, their liberty and lives; and that they should not suffer their hands to be tied behind their backs by a nation, which, unless they were enervated by idleness and sloth, was not more powerful than themselves, but that they should arm those hands with buckler, sword, and spear, ready for the field of battle; and, because they thought this also of advantage to the people they were about to leave, they, with the help of the miserable natives, built a Wall different from the former by pub-

lic and private contributions, and of the same structure as walls generally, extending in a straight line from sea to sea, between some cities, which from fear of their enemies had there by chance been built. They then give energetic counsel to the timorous natives, and leave them patterns by which to manufacture arms. Moreover, on the south coast, where their vessels lay, as there was some apprehension lest the barbarians might land, they erected towers at stated intervals, commanding a prospect of the sea, and then left the island never to return.

ETHELWERD'S CHRONICLE.

Ethelwerd* was a noble Saxon, great-great-grandson of King Ethelred, brother of Alfred. William of Malmesbury calls him "noble and illustrious," and informs us that he translated the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle into Latin. According to Dr. Ingram, Ethelwerd's peculiar praise was "that of being the only Latin historian for two centuries; though, like Xenophon, Cæsar, and Alfred, he wielded the sword as much as the pen."

Rome was destroyed by the Goths in the eleven hundred and forty-sixth year after it was built. From that time the Roman authority ceased in the island of Britain, and in many other countries which they had held under the yoke of slavery. For it was now four hundred and eighty-five years, beginning with Caius Julius Cæsar, that they had held the island above mentioned, wherein they had built cities and castles, bridges and streets of admirable construction, which are seen among us even to the present day. But whilst the people of Britain were living carelessly within the wall, which had been built by Severus to protect them, there arose two nations, the Picts in the north, and the Scots in the west, and leading an army against them, devastated their country, and inflicted many sufferings upon them for many years. The Britons, being unable to bear their misery, by a wise device, send to Rome a mournful letter† the army returned victorious to Rome. But the Scots and Picts, hearing that the hostile army was gone, rejoiced with no little joy. Again they take up arms, and like wolves attack the sheepfold which is left without a protector: they devastate the northern districts as far as the ditch of Severus: the Britons man the wall and fortify it with their arms; but fortune denies them success in the war. The cunning Scots, knowing what to do against the high wall and the deep trench, contrive iron goads with mechanical art, and dragging down those

* Ethelwerd flourished about the close of the tenth century.

† There is evidently a hiatus in this passage; but see Bede, Vol. I. Ch. xiii. p. 22. Dr. Giles's *Six Old English Chronicles*, p. 3, note.

who were standing on the wall, slay them without mercy: they remain victors both within and without; they at once plunder and take possession; and a slaughter is made worse than all that had been before. Thus ended the four hundred and forty-fourth year since the incarnation of our Lord.

Herodian relates that Severus, in his march northwards, passed the rivers and earthworks, which he calls a vast ditch: and Dio mentions the great wall near the *Meate* which separates the island into two parts. If the expression "living carelessly within the wall" refers to the lands which were given by the Emperor M. Aurelius Alexander Severus to the Britons, and extending to the bounds of the empire, near Bodotria Æstuarium, Ethelwerd's relation coincides, in the main, with the narratives of Gildas and Bede, to whom, and to the Saxon Chronicle especially, Ethelwerd was certainly greatly indebted.

NENNIUS*.

The Rev. W. Gunn, in 1819, published the Latin original, with a translation, under the following title—"The 'Historia Britonum,' commonly attributed to Nennius; from a Manuscript lately discovered in the Library of the Vatican Palace at Rome; edited, in the tenth century, by Mark the Hermit. With an English version, fac-simile of the original, notes and illustrations."

§ 23. Severus was the third emperor who passed the sea to Britain, where, to protect the provinces recovered from barbaric incursions, he ordered a wall and a rampart to be made between the Britons, the Scots, and the Picts, extending across the island from sea to sea, in length one hundred and thirty-three miles†: and it is called in the British language, Gwal‡. Moreover, he ordered it to be made between the Britons and the Picts and Scots; for the Scots from the west, and the Picts from the north, unanimously made war against the Britons; but were at peace among themselves. Not long after, Severus dies in Britain.

That this Wall refers to the rampart in Scotland, marked in the maps, "Vallum Antonini," appears from what follows in Nennius.

§ 38. Hengist, after this, said to Vortigern, "I will be to you both a father and an adviser; despise not my counsels, and you

* Some assign A.D. 796, others A.D. 994, as the epoch of Nennius.

† V. R. Thirty-two.

‡ Or the Wall. One MS. here adds: "The above-mentioned Severus constructed it of rude workmanship, in length 132 miles; *i. e.*, from Pengnau, which village is called, in Scottish, Cenail, and in English, Peneltun, to the mouth of the river Cluth and Cairpentaloch, where this wall terminates; but it was of no avail. The Emperor Carausius afterwards rebuilt it, and fortified it with seven castles between the two mouths: he built also a round house, of polished stones, on the banks of the river Carun (Carron); he likewise erected a triumphal arch, on which he inscribed his own name, in memory of his victory."

shall have no reason to fear being conquered by any man or any nation whatever; for the people of my country are strong, warlike, and robust: if you approve I will send for my son and his brother, both valiant men, who, at my invitation, will fight against the Scots, and you can give them the countries in the north, near the wall called *Gwal*. The incautious sovereign having assented to this, Octa and Ebusa arrived with forty ships. In these they sailed round the country of the Picts, laid waste the Orkneys, and took possession of many regions, even to the Pictish confines.

WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY'S CHRONICLE.

"William of Malmesbury,"* according to Archbishop Usher, "is the chief of our historians;" Leland records him "as an elegant, learned, and faithful historian;" and Sir Henry Saville is of opinion that he is the only man of his time who has discharged his trust as an historian.—*Preface to Dr. Giles's Edition*, 1847.

In the year of the incarnation of our Lord, 449, Angles and Saxons first came into Britain; and although the cause of their arrival is universally known, it may not be improper here to subjoin it: and, that the design of my work may be the more manifest, to begin even from an earlier period. That Britain, compelled by Julius Cæsar to submit to the Roman power, was held in high estimation by that people, may be collected from their history, and be seen also in the ruins of their ancient buildings. Even their emperors, sovereigns of almost all the world, eagerly embraced opportunities of sailing hither, and of spending their days here. Finally, Severus and Constantius, two of their greatest princes, died upon the island, and were there interred with the utmost pomp. The former, to defend this province from the incursions of the barbarians, built his celebrated and well known wall from sea to sea. The latter, a man, as they report, of courteous manners, left Constantine, his son by Helena, a tender of cattle, a youth of great promise, his heir. Constantine, greeted emperor by the army, led away, in an expedition destined to the continent, a numerous force of British soldiers; by whose exertions, the war succeeding to his wishes, he gained in a short time the summit of power. For these veterans, when their toil was over, he founded a colony on the western coast of Gaul, where to this day, their descendants, somewhat degenerate in language and manners from our own Britons, remain with wonderful increase.

In succeeding times, in this island, Maximus, a man well fitted

* William of Malmesbury was born about A.D. 1095, died A.D. 1143.

for command, had he not aspired to power in defiance of his oath, assumed the purple, as though compelled by the army, and preparing immediately to pass over into Gaul, he despoiled the province of almost all its military force. Not long after, also, one Constantine, who had been elected emperor on account of his name, drained its whole remaining warlike strength; but both being slain, the one by Theodosius, the other by Honorius, they became examples of the instability of human greatness. Of the forces which had followed them, part shared the fate of their leaders; the rest, after their defeat, fled to the continental Britons. Thus when the tyrants had left none but half-savages in the country, and in the towns those only who were given up to luxury, Britain, despoiled of the support of its youthful * population, and bereft of every useful art, was for a long time exposed to the ambition of neighbouring nations.

For immediately, by an excursion of the Scots and Picts, numbers of the people were slain, villages burnt, towns destroyed, and every thing laid waste by fire and sword. Part of the harassed islanders, who thought anything more advisable than contending in battle, fled for safety to the mountains; others, burying their treasures in the earth, many of which are dug up in our own times, proceeded to Rome to ask assistance. The Romans, touched with pity, and deeming it above all things important to yield succour to their oppressed allies, twice lent their aid, and defeated the enemy. But at length, wearied with the distant voyage, they declined returning in future; bidding them rather themselves not degenerate from the martial energy of their ancestors, but learn to defend their country with spirit and with arms. They accompanied their advice with the plan of a wall, to be built for their defence; the mode of keeping watch on the ramparts; of sallying out against the enemy, should it be necessary, together with other duties of military discipline†. After giving these admonitions, they departed, accompanied by the tears of the miserable inhabitants; and Fortune, smiling on their departure, restored them to their friends and country. The Scots, learning the improbability of their return, immediately began to make fresh and more frequent irruptions against the Britons; to level their wall, to kill the few opponents they met with, and to carry off considerable booty; while such as escaped fled to the royal residence, imploring the protection of their sovereign.

* Some MSS. read *juvenilis*, others *militaris*.

† The castra appear to have been constructed after the wall was built. At Clawfields, the west and east sides of the Mile Castle are not tied or built into the great wall, although this forms the north side of the building.

GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH *.

“The work on which the fame of Geoffrey, surnamed Monmouth, principally rests, is the ‘*Historia Britonum*,’ dedicated to Robert, Duke of Gloucester, who died in 1147.”—*Dr. Giles*, edit. 1847.

Book VI. Ch. I. But Gratian Municeps†, hearing of the death of Maximian‡, seized the crown, and made himself king. After this he exercised such tyranny that the common people fell upon him in a tumultuous manner, and murdered him. When this news reached other countries, their former enemies returned back from Ireland, and bringing with them the Scots, Norwegians, and Dacians, made dreadful devastations with fire and sword, over the whole kingdom, from sea to sea. Upon this most grievous calamity and oppression, ambassadors are dispatched with letters to Rome, to beseech, with tears and vows of perpetual subjection, that a body of men might be sent to revenge their injuries, and drive out the enemy from them. The ambassadors, in a short time, prevailed so far, that, unmindful of past injuries, the Romans granted them one legion, which was transported in a fleet to their country, and there speedily encountered the enemy. At last, after the slaughter of a vast multitude of them, they drove them entirely out of the country, and rescued the miserable people from their outrageous cruelty. Then they gave orders for a Wall to be built between Albania and Deira, from one sea to the other, for a terror to the enemy, and safeguard to the country. At that time, Albania was wholly laid waste, by the frequent invasions of barbarous nations; and whatever enemies made an attempt upon the country, met with a convenient landing-place there. So that the inhabitants were diligent in working upon the Wall, which they finished partly at the public, partly upon private charge.

Chapter II. The Romans after this declared to the Britons, that they should not be able for the future to undergo the fatigue of such laborious expeditions; and that it was beneath the dignity of the Roman state to harass so great and brave an army, both by land and sea, against base and vagabond robbers; but that they ought to apply themselves to the use of arms, and to fight bravely in defending, to the utmost of their power, their country, riches, wives, children, and, what is dearer than all these, their liberty and lives. As soon as they had given them this exhortation, they commanded

* Raised to the bishopric of St. Asaph in 1152.

† This Gratian was called Municeps, because he was a citizen of Britain.

‡ Maximus was besieged in Aquileia, and, the gates being burst open, he was dragged into the presence of Theodosius and beheaded, A.D. 388.

all the men of the island that were fit for war to appear together at London, because the Romans were about to return home. When, therefore, they were all assembled, Guethelin, the metropolitan of London, had orders to make a speech to them, which he did in these words:—

“Though I am appointed by the princes here present to speak to you, I find myself rather ready to burst into tears than to make an eloquent oration. It is a most sensible affliction to me to observe the weak and destitute state into which you are fallen since Maximian drew away with him all the forces and youth of this kingdom.” . . . The remainder of the speech holds out no hopes of further assistance from the Romans, but encourages them to handle their arms against a band of robbers, &c.

Notwithstanding the fabulous character of some parts of his book, I have taken the above extract from Geoffrey of Monmouth, since his account of the wall is bounded on both sides by adjoining historical truth, and is itself in accordance with the picture of the same period drawn by other writers.

RICHARD OF CIRENCESTER*

ON THE ANCIENT STATE OF BRITAIN.

According to Gibbon, Richard of Cirencester shows a genuine knowledge of antiquity very extraordinary for a monk of the fourteenth century.—*Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Vol. V. p. 365, note.

BOOK II. CHAP. I.

XXI. A. M. 4080. Agricola after a severe engagement subdued Galgacus, king of the Caledonians. He ordered all the island to be examined by a fleet, and, having sailed round its coasts, added the Orades to the Roman empire.

XXII. 4120. The Emperor Hadrian himself came into the island, and separated one part of it from the other by an immense wall.

XXIII. 4140. Urbicus being sent hither by Antoninus Pius, distinguished himself by his victories.

XXIV. 4150. Aurelius Antoninus also obtained victories over some of the Britons.

XXVI. 4170. The Romans were driven from the Vespasian province. About this time it is supposed that King Reuda came with his people, the Picts, from the islands into Britain.

XXVII. 4207. The Emperor Severus, passing over into Bri-

* A monk at Westminster, from A.D. 1350 to A.D. 1402.

tain, repaired the wall built by the Romans, which had been ruined, and died not long after by the visitation of God at York.

XXVIII. 4211. Bassianus (Caracalla) obtained a venal peace from the Mæatæ.

XXIX. 4220. During these times the Roman armies confined themselves within the wall, and all the island enjoyed profound peace.

XXXV. Theodosius slew Maximus, the tyrant, three miles from Aquileia. Maximus having nearly drained Britain of all its warlike youth, who followed the footsteps of his tyranny over Gaul, the fierce transmarine nations of the Scots from the south, and the Picts from the north, perceiving the island without soldiers and defenceless, oppressed it, and laid it waste during a long series of years.

XXXVI. 4396. The Britons, indignantly submitting to the attacks of the Scots and Picts, sent to Rome, made an offer of submission, and requested assistance against their enemies. A legion being accordingly despatched to their assistance, slew a great multitude of the barbarians, and drove the remainder beyond the confines of Britain. The legion upon its departure homewards advised its allies to construct a Wall between the two estuaries, to restrain the enemy. A wall was accordingly made, in an unskilful manner, with a greater proportion of turf than stone, which was of no advantage; for on the departure of the Romans the former enemies returned in ships, slew, trampled on, and devoured all things before them like a ripened harvest.

XXXVII. 4400. Assistance being again entreated, the Romans came, and with the aid of the Britons drove the enemy beyond the sea, and built a Wall from sea to sea, not as before with earth, but with solid stone, between the fortresses erected in that part, to curb the enemy. On the southern coast, where an invasion of the Saxons was apprehended, he erected watch towers. This was the work of Stilicho, as appears from Claudian.

Without attempting to reconcile with nicety the accounts of these early writers, there is sufficient agreement among them to infer that the Stone or Picts Wall is not the wall of Severus or of Hadrian. When a Roman legion could inflict such terror and consternation upon the enemy who are described as unwarlike plunderers, the Roman soldiers, occupying the real defences of the country,—the fortified towns, could never have been induced to undergo the

fatigue of building a stone and mortar wall seventy miles in length, eight feet in thickness, and twelve feet high. And perhaps the most surprising circumstance connected with the design of this famous wall will still remain unexplained,—that it should have been thought necessary to construct it for the space of ten miles on the brink of those whinstone crag precipices, which stretch from Shewingshields to Caervorran. The expense of erecting such a wall at the present time, with only the means possessed by the Romans, would be upwards of three millions sterling, as an eminent engineer informs me; and to man the castella upon it would require the constant occupation of two legions. Does history teach us that Roman ambition was wont to sit quietly down and rest satisfied with a limit to Roman desire of conquest? Was the empire, which extended to the Clyde and the Forth, voluntarily contracted by Severus to the limit of the Tyne and the Eden? And if, against all experience of Roman policy, we suppose the conquests of Antoninus Pius, and of Severus himself, to be abandoned, would the Roman legions, strongly posted in the fortified cities, which formed impregnable redoubts to the rampart and fosse already constructed, have considered it consistent with the glory and honour of the Roman name to manifest their fear of a despised enemy by building such a wall?

It may not be unreasonable to suppose the words, ‘they built a wall across the island,’ used by the ancient writers, may sometimes express the restoring and completing of an earthen rampart fallen to decay. Indeed a defence of this description, when repaired and greatly strengthened, would to all appearance be a new work, and might with propriety be described as a new wall. In this view it would not be difficult to reconcile the conflicting statements of these writers, who must often have recorded events from traditional testimony, when the only historians were the clergy, and such even esteemed it inconsistent with their sacred office to engage in such profane labours*.

Other considerations lead to a decision against the claim of Roman patience in building such a wall at the period of scarcely interrupted conquest, and when the invasion of Severus is considered to be “connected with the most shining period of British history or fable.”† Gibbon relates that “across the narrow interval of about forty miles, Agricola had drawn a line of military stations, which was afterwards fortified, in the reign of Antoninus Pius, by a turf rampart erected on foundations of stone. This wall of Antoninus,

* Richard of Cirencester, Chap. VII.

† Decline of the Roman Empire, Vol. I. Chap. VI. p. 209, Edit. 1815.

at a small distance beyond the modern cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow, was fixed as the limit of the Roman province,"*, which, he afterwards adds, comprehended "all the lowlands of Scotland, as far as the firths of Dunbarton and Edinburgh."† Without assuming the entire subjection of the lowlands to the Roman sway, the usual views of *conquerors* are not generally towards the erection of such a defence one hundred miles in the rear of the site of their splendid victories. One of the preceding writers speaks of "the unconquerable Severus, who, having rapidly put the enemy to flight, repaired the wall of Hadrian, now become ruinous ‡, and restored it to its former perfection. Had he lived he intended to extirpate the very name of the barbarians, but he died by the visitation of God among the Brigantes, in the city of Eboracum."§—*Rich. of Cirenc.*, Chap. II. art. 23.

On a review of the best evidence as to the position of the military defences contained in the Latin authors, were it not presumptuous, candour would incline us to place the Wall of Severus or Guall-Severi in Scotland; to which Dio refers when he says, "the *Meatæ* dwell near the great Wall that separates the island into two parts, the *Caledonians* live beyond them."|| Victor, Eutropius, Orosius and others, speak of the conquests of Severus, and relate that, for the purpose of securing them, he built a wall or rampart from sea to sea. As to Victor making the length of the wall xxxii miles, Eutropius xxxv, Cassiodorus and Orosius cxxxii, Camden fancies with reason that this difference has arisen from a corruption in the numerals. As the last estimate is nearly double that of the distance between Tyne-mouth and Bowness, and the omission of the c would reconcile the measure with the others, and with the true interval between the Firth of Forth and the Clyde, it is reasonable to suppose the more northern wall is referred to by these writers. That Severus restored or completed Hadrian's Vallum, most authors are agreed; and his claim to the rampart between the Scottish Firths may, perhaps, be no precarious postulate. The formation of a rampart of earth by the soldiers of Severus is certainly more agreeable to the impetuosity of his character and the circumstances of his reign in Britain, than the construction of a wall of hewn masonry, for the space of

* Decline of the Roman Empire, Ch. I. p. 7.

† Ibid. p. 33.

‡ Probably through neglect.

§ The resentment of Severus would doubtless have been greatly moderated on the completion of such a work as the Picts Wall, if not during its progress.

|| According to Tacitus, the country of the Caledonians began from this wall; the *Meatæ* must therefore have lain to the south of the Firths, and occupied part of the lowlands.

seventy miles. The accurate geographer D'Anville doubtless considered the question in the same light. He says, "Under the reign of Domitian, the Roman armies, commanded by Agricola, penetrated even to Caledonia; that is to say, into the centre of Scotland. The difficulty of maintaining this distant frontier against the assaults of the unconquered people, determined Adrian to contract the limits of the Roman province in Britain, and separate it from the barbarous country, by a rampart of eighty miles in length, from the bottom of the gulf now called Solway Firth, to Tinmouth, which is the entrance of a river on the eastern side of the island. Severus extended these limits by constructing another rampart of thirty-two miles in the narrowest part of the island, between *Glota* or the river Clyde, and the bottom of Bodotria, or the gulf near which the city of Edinburgh stands. Though we have not in Roman Britain well-defined limits between the several provinces as in Gaul, we perceive a distinction between *Superior* and *Inferior*; and the position of some cities ascribed to the higher Britain, indicates this to have been on the western shore. The multiplication of provinces which prevailed throughout the empire, furnished a *Britannia Prima* and *Secunda*; and the situation of the first colonies after the commencement of the conquest, should establish the first Britain on the east. Two other provinces, *Flavia Cæsariensis* and *Maxima Cæsariensis*, appear by the name of *Flavia* to have been called after the family of Constantine, and the surname of *Cæsariensis* would refer to Constantine Chlorus, who, it is well known, commanded in Britain with the title of Cæsar. But we are not informed of the extent and limits of these provinces. Somewhat later in the order of time another province is observed under the name of *Valentia**, supposed to have been the nearest to the rampart of Severus."—*Anc. Geog.* Vol. I. pp. 88, 89.

In the Itinerary of Richard of Cirencester, we find a list of stations along the Ermyrn and Watling Streets from Lincoln to the Wall in Scotland. In crossing the barriers near Hunnum, the point of juncture is described ad *Murum*. In Antoninus and in the Notitia, Hunnum is mentioned as ad *Vallum*.

"ITER IV. A Lindo ad Vallum usque, sic: Argolico m.p. xiiii. Dano xx. Ibi intras Maximam Cæsariensem, Legotio, m.p. xvi. Eboraco municip. olim colonia sexta, m.p. xxi. Isurio xvi. Cataractoni xxiii. ad Tisam x. Vinovio xii. Epiaco xviii. ad Murum

* "Valentia occupies the whole space between the Wall or rampart built by the Emperor Hadrian to that built by the Emperor Antoninus Pius, from the estuary Bdora to that of the Clydda."—*Richard of Cirencester*, Chap. VI.

viii. trans Murum intras Valentiam. Alauna * amne m.p. xxv. Tueda † flumine xxx. ad Vallum."

Horsley, the learned author of the *Britannia Romana*, who was born and educated, and spent his life, in the district through which the Picts Wall passes, was decidedly of opinion that the vallum and the wall were constructed by the Emperors Hadrian and Septimus Severus—that is, between A. D. 151 and A. D. 211. He acknowledges indeed, "it was the opinion of some ingenious persons that both the walls were the work of the same time, and the same person; and that the one is only an inner vallum or fosse to the other." ‡ But, after considering this view, he declares that he could "see no circumstances in the two works, arguing them to be done at the same time, or to have any necessary relation to each other," § and the reasons which he gives have been generally considered satisfactory.

The accomplished and elegant historian of Northumberland, equally favoured by study and long residence in the neighbourhood of the wall, has revived this theory, but attributes all the works—the stations, wall, and vallum—to Hadrian. He observes that "Severus was too much occupied with a skirmishing and desultory warfare to have any leisure to construct new fortifications." As to the unity of the works, he says, "The sites of the stations have been plainly selected in reference to the defence which they and the road between them should receive from the vallum and the murus; and as if from the first it had been intended to be the great feature and main member of the whole, the murus, through the whole line, takes its position on the most commanding ground, on the brows of ridges, overlooking the country on the enemy's side, to the north; while the vallum, as the weaker work, and designed only to protect the garrisons in their stations or marches against revolts or predatory attacks of an allied population, or from mixing with the people, is of frailer materials, and often on a less defensible line than the murus." ||

The innumerable inscriptions recorded on altars and other stones found at the stations, throw no light on the origin or purpose of the wall, which must account for the necessity of the preceding mere hypothesis. During the Roman sway, the stations doubtless formed the *permanent* defence against the incursions of the barbarians, and whilst these were garrisoned by the Roman army, the enemy probably never advanced within sight of Hadrian's wall or rampart.

* River Coquet.

† River Tweed.

‡ Brit. Rom. p. 124.

§ Ibid. p. 124.

|| Hodgson's Hist. of North. Vol. III. Pt. 2, pp. 277, 278.

But leaving the position of Severus's 'celebrated and well-known wall from sea to sea,' in the words of Malmesbury, to be yet settled, we may observe, that whoever considers with attention the defenceless state of Britain on the abandonment of the province by the Romans, and the consternation spread throughout the kingdom on hearing they would return no more to their assistance, will be inclined to consider the erection of the Picts Wall as a work suited to the defence of a people, whose youth and warriors were absent, and where a small number extended along the ramparts, if their hearts had sustained them, would have supplied the place of the Roman cohorts stationed in the cities. As the whole of the inhabitants of southern Britain had an interest in this defence, the building of the wall admitted of no delay, and doubtless distant bodies of the Britons would give their aid and assistance. We need not be surprised that even the Dumnonii * should have taken that portion which formed the weakest part of the line, according to the inscription on a stone found in the wall between Thirlwall and Caervorran. Those persons were probably conveyed in Roman vessels from the Bristol Channel, along the shore of their friends, to the Solway coast.

The contribution for "watch and ward upon the wall," which, to a comparatively late period, was so heavy upon the villages of the border counties, was a substitution for the harassing personal service of watching and guarding the wall, before this duty was transferred to the castles. Although no longer a complete defence, the wall was probably a considerable barrier previous to the middle of the fifteenth century, when numerous beacons, erected about that time over the country, proclaimed the necessity of alarming, in times of danger, a greater breadth of country. The bands of husbandmen and artisans, left by the Romans in charge of the wall, were speedily driven from their posts, and the country in consequence suffered severely, but the youth of the next generation were taught in the school of adversity, and very soon overthrew their enemies †. And the stone barrier, though probably pernicious in keeping up the spirit of hostility among the borderers, might, in another respect, be serviceable; and, for centuries afterwards, would impede the motions of plunderers on both sides of the wall.

* What remains of the southern part of Britain, and which is contracted by the sea and the *Sabrina Æstuarium*, belonged to the *Dumnonii*. Their city, called *Isca*, on a river of the same name, retains its denomination in that of Exeter, or Excheester.—*D'Anville's Anc. Geog.*, Vol. I. p. 91.

Devon-sh., Den-sh. or Dens, Anc. Damnonii or Dumnonii.—*Gibson's Etymol. Geog.* p. 156.

† Epistle of Gildas, art. 20.

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An obliging Antiquary of Hexham has furnished the following directions for a three days' pedestrian tour along the Wall:—

Your route should be from Corbridge, a station of the Newcastle and Carlisle Railway, to Walwick Chesters (Cilurnum), getting upon the line of Wall at Halton Chesters (Hunnum).

The road from Corbridge to Stagshawbank Bar is a portion of the Watling Street, or ancient military road.

On the second day you might get on to Haltwhistle, though Housesteads (Borcovicus), and Chesterholme (Vindolana) would demand the principal part of it.

The third day you have less ground to go over; after inspecting the interesting ruins at Burdoswald (Amboglanna) you might rest for the night at the Shaw's Hotel, Gilsland.

ERRATUM.

Page 59, line 3, for "Huddlestone" read "Hudson."

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146	A history of the Picts
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1849	

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